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AFRICA QUARTERLY

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Note To Contributors

The Indian Council for Africa welcomes articles and contributions from all interested in African affairs, especially from those making particular studies of African problems and people. Articles and contributions accepted for publication in this journal will be paid for at our usual rates.

The views expressed in the articles going under the authors' names are not necessarily those held by the Council.

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AFRICA QUARTERLY is devoted to a study and objective understanding of African affairs. It will be publishing contributions from outstanding writers, experts and specialists on various political, economic, social, cultural and literary subjects pertaining to Africa. Apart from these, it will carry documentation on different specialised subjects of African interest.

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Tagore The Universalist

THE WORLD rightly honours Rabindranath Tagore as one of the greatest literary figures in history. His writings include more than one thousand poems and two thousand songs in addition to a large number of short stories, novels, dramatic

works and essays on diverse topics. As a writer of lyrics and songs, he has rarely been equalled and perhaps never surpassed. As a short story writer, his rank is among the first three or four masters of the craft. As a novelist and playwright, he has achieved for himself an honoured place in the world of letters. As a literary critic, he has given evidence of rare insight and deep sympathy with the work of men who differed from him widely in tradition and temperament.

The diversity of his literary work is amazing, but literature in its widest sense could not exhaust his energies. He was a musician of the highest order and not only composed songs but set them to music. He started as a traditionalist, but very soon the range of his musical composition expanded till it incorporated elements from western music and fused them with his eastern background. He took to painting when he was almost 70 and yet produced within ten years almost 3,000 pictures. They broke sharply from prevailing Indian styles and explored the unconscious and subconscious levels of the people's mind. Some regard his work as a complete breach with the Indian tradition and yet many competent critics have described him as one of the most significant and creative painters of modern India.

*Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's birth centenary took place on May 8, 1961. Mr. Humayun Kabir, the Union Minister for Cultural Affairs, sent this as a message on the occasion.



Tagore was an artist par excellence and in addition, he made notable contributions to religious and educational thought, to politics and social reforms, to moral regeneration and economic reconstruction of India and the world. He not only thought deeply and creatively on all these topics, but he also set his hand to realise in practice what he preached. The educational ideas which inspired his school at Santiniketan have deeply influenced all modern educational thought in India. His programmes of economic, social and political reconstruction of the village through the co-operation and self-help of villagers have set the pattern for programmes of reconstruction of national life in contemporary India. His deep feeling for the unity of man made him realise that inter-dependence of peoples and countries rather than independence must be the principle of life and progress today and tomorrow if the world is to survive the challenge of modern science and technology. Steeped in the age-old traditions of the East, an inheritor of the rich cultural heritage of ancient and mediaeval India, he was simultaneously a modernist who welcomed the values proclaimed by the West. In a word, Tagore lived and worked for the realisation of the ideal of Universal Man.

--HUMAYUN KABIR

THE EMERGENT AFRICA

By

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The following is an abridged version of the address delivered by Prime Minister Nehru while inaugurating the Seminar on Africa, organised by the Indian Council for Africa in February, 1961.

FOR THE past many years, it had been obvious to those who try to look ahead a little, that Africa was a Continent which would demand, and demand aggressively, the attention of the world. It was apparent that all the accumulated suppression of ages and all the sufferings and the troubles that had accompanied the imperialist and colonial exploitation would not continue; they would burst out. The question was whether the people and the Governments who controlled largely the destinies of many of these colonial countries in Africa would be wise enough to take effective action before circumstances overwhelmed them. There were some indications of some wisdom and it was thought that there would be a peaceful transition to the independence of these countries. There were also indications of resistance to this.

The map of Africa has been changing for the past few years and with extreme rapidity; independent countries have been appearing on this map. The process started with stirrings of change in the British colonial domains in Africa which resulted in the U.K. Government realising that effective steps had to be taken soon. This was followed by the changing wind in the French colonies. Whatever be the inner content of the independence that has come to various African countries, it has been an exciting thing. It is a pleasant sight to see many representatives of these independent countries of Africa occupying their rightful place in the U.N. All this is on the credit side.

But there is much on the debit side as well. There is the problem of Algeria. There is the continuing empire of Portugal. Then there is the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa, which has in it the seeds of tremendous conflict. There is also the question of South-West Africa which, without its consent or willingness, has got tied up with the South African Union and which has almost been absorbed by that Union in spite of the U.N., in spite of the World Court and in spite of the wishes not only of its own people, but of the people all over Africa, Asia and the rest of the world. Finally, there are the developments in the Congo.

The fact of the matter is that we are living today at a moment of tremendous revolutionary upheaval in Africa. Apart from the violence and the conflict that we witness in Africa at the present juncture, it is an upheaval in the minds of the people—a real thing out of which many other things flow. This upheaval has been the result of bursting out after a long period of suppression and the feeling that the release from bondage has not been what it was thought to be. What is happening in the Congo is an illustration of this fact.

The story of the Congo, in the recent months especially, is rather unique in its own way. After a very long period of colonial domination, the Congo became, or was supposed to have become, independent, when all the lapses of colonial domination came to the forefront and were played upon by some people, particularly by the colonial power that had previously dominated it. Now the Congo is in a state, to some extent, of civil war. The colonial power is again functioning there; it is at least trying to re-establish its control—not a direct control of colonial domination, but still fairly effective control in an indirect form. This is not only coming in the way of the unity and the integrity of the country, but is also putting its sovereignty in jeopardy. It has even made the future of the U.N. doubtful.

Behind all the discussions about Africa today is this tremendous shadow of the Congo, with all sorts of ghosts of the past and the present haunting it. One may say the policies pursued in the Congo have failed to achieve the results aimed at. It will be a folly to persist with them. In the position that obtains in the Congo today, one has to take definite steps; one has to have clear objectives, clear ideas.

The situation in the Congo has become more and more complicated due to a variety of reasons. Among them are the coming in of some countries in the way of implementation of the U.N. policies and an attempt—so it is generally believed—to reimpose colonial control in some form or other.

There has been another serious development in the Congo. A few days ago, we learnt about the murder of Mr. Lumumba and his associates. This did not exactly come as a surprise; like some pre-ordained fate, one could see events marching to that end. Mr. Lumumba's end was perhaps hastened in order to prevent a change that probably was coming in the policy of some great countries towards the Congo. Nobody can be categorical about this fact. But this is what is believed by some people and it is not an illogical hypothesis. Whatever be the case, the fact is that Mr. Lumumba was murdered with his associates: murdered brutally, callously.

It is not a personal crime. It is an international crime. It has become a turning point in the history of Africa. Mr. Lumumba within a few days of his death has become a historical, almost a mythical figure. A dead Lumumba is infinitely more powerful than a live Lumumba. Today the world is seeing the consequences of not only this particular tragedy, but

of the tragedies that preceded it and which culminated in this particular tragedy. This offers a very difficult choice for the world, the choice of changing its way, its approaches to the problems of the Congo and the problems of Africa, because if it does not do so, catastrophes of tremendous magnitude may have to be faced.

We cannot wipe out past history. It is over, done with. The moving finger has written and nobody can wipe that off. But it is possible to see that the future history is written differently. The people of Africa, and largely of Asia, too, are just not interested in the cold war approaches. They are interested in their own freedom. Any action to be taken there has to be against this background.

THE AFRICAN SYNTHESIS

By

Dr. U. R. EHRENFELS

Professor Ehrenfels, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, extended his studies of matrilineal social systems and the changing position of women in South Asia to East Africa. His book THE LIGHT CONTINENT (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960) conveys results of his field research in Africa to the interested lay-reader. Parts of this book's last chapter have, with acknowledgements to Asia Publishing House, been incorporated into the following article, after the Indian Council for Africa held a seminar at New Delhi in February 1961. Dr. Ehrenfels participated in discussions on Independent African Nations and Their Problems, with a contribution on Ideological Rebirth of Africa.

I

PANAFRICANISM as an obvious and practical approach to a cultural synthesis of African nations and cultures, enlists strong sympathies especially among younger African intellectuals. Ghana and her ruling circles lead in this, as in so many other respects of breath-taking progress. In part, this may also be so because of Ghana's consciousness of her old tradition. The ancient Ghana Empire was considerably larger than the present State and to people, aware of such an old traditional heritage, as much as of their present leadership in modern progress, the concept of widening the present horizons and including all Africa in a United States-concept must naturally appeal.

There are, however, other areas where the mere word and concept of Federation carries insurmountably bitter associations. Nyasaland particularly, but also Northern Rhodesia have been drawn into the cauldron of direct or indirect affliction with the virus of South African racialism through federation with the racialist atmosphere in Southern Rhodesia. The reversal of the typically northern aggressiveness which constitutes a formative element in big-nation units of the northern hemisphere (Ehrenfels, 1961), worked here in its south-hemispherical counterpart as a similarly characteristic aggressiveness coming from the south-arctic

cold region, and reaching out towards the sub-tropical and tropical north near the equator (Ehrenfels, 1960-a, 1960-b). Very understandably the mere thought of federation must be anathema to the people of such countries as Northern Rhodesia, especially Nyasaland, or Uganda in the vicinity of Kenya. But that is perhaps so only as long as federation into greater units would mean association with racialist countries and infection with a policy of *apartheid*. This, however, is certainly not what Panafri-canism envisages as an ideological concept. Panafri-canism means the union of all African governed African countries to which, incidentally, also the cold countries on the southern fringes of the continent will in the foreseeable future belong.

II

What then are the prospects of Panafri-canism in all its facets; in political, economic, social, religious and—generally—in cultural organization?

Africa, like India, has never been one political unit, prior to the period of foreign domination. Africa, like India, comprises a great number of different linguistic, traditional and religio-cultural units, brought together by the common fate of subjection to foreign rule and the subsequent predominance of foreign ideologies. No doubt, there are many basic features in common between the present situation of the two greater units: Africa and India and hence also between African and Indian nationalism.

However, there are also significant differences. Apart from the geographical fact that Africa, with 11,262,000 square miles, is about eight times larger than India, with 1,581,410 square miles, there are also two anthropological factors in evidence which mark a significant line of demarcation between these two great entities—the absence in Africa of an indigenous writing system, such as the Devanagari and Dravidian scripts, and that of a common old religious tradition, such as Hinduism has provided to India.

It would be misleading to conclude from these differences that the prospects for a living, workable Panafri-canism are therefore necessarily lesser than those for the Indian Union. We shall see presently that even the opposite view is arguable. But before going into this question, it is here necessary to clarify two often committed short-cuts to generalization.

Lack of indigenous script systems by no means implies lack of old-established traditions in political systems and government—much less lack of intelligence—as the snobism of literates all over the world tends to presume. We are accustomed to speak condescendingly of “pre-literate” societies and of “illiterate individuals”, but we rarely care to remember the greatest and most enduring thoughts on which our present cultures have been built in pre-literate or such societies which were just on the threshold of emerging literacy, like that of the Rig Veda, the Iliad and Odysse, the Genesis and the Qur'an. Likewise, we tend to forget that among the greatest spiritual leaders of mankind whose

figures still tower over the ever increasing millions of coming and going literary products, like the Himalayas tower over the fleeting weeds in tanks and rivers below, there are significantly numerous representatives of illiterate or barely literate professions: Krishna—a cow-herd, Jesus—a carpenter, Muhammed—a camel driver. Rama and Buddha were Rajkumars but not of the sophisticated, literary type—more interested in horse-riding and youthful companions, than in the study of books, before they went to the solitude of the forest. Among the truly great leaders of mankind whose names endured over millenia, there are but few, like Lao Tze who had been *literati*, writers in the professional sense of our days.

Likewise in Africa, lack of literary tradition and history indicates by no means the absence of mankind's deepest emotional and spiritual search. None who has probed somewhat deeper into the structuring and guiding principle of graded African youth initiation ritual and age-class systems can harbour any doubts as to the sublime origin and very often still enduring spirituality of these time-honoured traditions. None who has had the opportunity to listen to some of the truly inspired rhythmic and acoustic achievements in African *ngomas*—drum and dance combinations—can doubt that here artistic genius in the highest sense of the word worked out an adequate manifestation and expression of highest order.

As to Panafricanism, the lack of indigenous writing systems in Africa does by no means indicate any inherent deficiency in the psychological, much less the biological, resources of the African people. This is also vividly illustrated by the very outstanding eagerness, ability and energy of African boys, as well as girls, to acquire literary education today; an eagerness and ability which surpasses that of many other races who even look back over centuries of literary tradition.

The second lack to which we have been drawing attention in connection with the African synthesis, is that of a common traditional religious system, such as Hinduism and also the historically important Buddhist period have provided to Indian cultural history. Ancient Egypt and her religious traditions no doubt permeated most, if not all, African regions and left a deep, common impression on the history of the African peoples during the last four or five thousand years. But in spite of this community of origin, there was no formal community in either name, or symbolic formulation of Egyptian religious contents, in Africa, such as Hinduism and Buddhism have provided to the Indian tradition during the last two and a half millenia.

The differences which absence of a self-developed writing system and a common formulation of codified religion imply for the question of the African Synthesis are, moreover, not entirely negative. If this absence constitutes certain negative factors, it also enhances freedom from those retarding and dividing culture-elements which traditionalism and adherence to old forms inevitably produce. Coupled with the pre-literate

freshness of approach is perhaps biologically conditioned vitality of the prevailing African temperament. The sense of humour, the talent for rhythmic differentiation and for artistic originality, generally, are representative African qualities. Coupled with such originality in approach, there is a great eagerness to learn and to accept intellectually. All this augurs well for the attempt to weld together the multifarious streams of 700 languages and almost an equal number of different historical traditions in social organisation and economic specialization.

On the debit side of this picture there is a peculiar situation which colonial domination has brought about. Different foreign nations, from Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish in the beginning, to German, Belgian, French and English at the end of African colonialization—different types of foreigners have dominated, organised, educated and religiously proselytized among not only each one, but several and often widely separated African areas and nations.

Along with this organisatory and linguistic acculturation of various different African groups went also religio-ideological acculturation into different non-African directions. This was, and still is, of paramount importance on the African scene. In no other area has the missionary played an economically, socially and even politically comparably powerful role than he has in Africa. All missionizing groups, without exception, though least of all the Muslims, fell into the trap of considering everything African as *eo ipso* pagan, heathen, barbarian or, as the Kiswahili expression goes: *chenzi*. This eloquent synonym for the Hindi *jungli* may have as good a chance to be turned into a self-confident word of pride, as *jungli* may, once the real value and beauty of the Indian forest, the *jungle*, would have been detected by the urbanized people of India, instead of mockingly giving the wonderful name of *Dandakaranya*—the sacred great forest—to the ruthless deforestation, destruction and mowing down of the last forest reserves and their transformation into the chaos of money-grabbing over-crowding! But as it is—the chances for a future transformation of the concept that everything African is in itself necessarily *chenzi*—bad—are still a thing of the future. At present the old type of concept prevails—significantly even among the young Africans themselves who feel in large parts still ashamed of the picture of an African in African national dress, or still interpret the word *progress* as tantamount to westernization.

Has the Indian, or more specifically the Hindu-Buddhist culture then no role to play in this context? Is there no evidence of a community in approach and solution to problems which, as we have seen, have so many elements in common?

There is much evidence pointing to the possibility, even probability of very old, pre-Aryan ties between matrilineal social systems in India and East Africa (Ehrenfels, 1941:196), which have recently been further supported by new archaeological discoveries of trade links between Sumerian and Indus Civilization artifacts on the Bahrein Islands (Bibby,

1958: 54/5). The community between the western shores of India and East Africa is, however, *not* confined to an as yet "pre-historic" past. It is *pre-historic* because we are still unable to decipher the ancient Indus script and hence have to subsummarize that period of the Indian past under the name of pre-history—an interpretation of the past which is not based on the evidence of written and legible documents. But since that remote period, the ties between the West Coast of India and East Africa have perhaps never snapped altogether—though we cannot be sure of this contention yet. Ever since Arabs settled on the East African Zanzibar Islands, during the seventh and eighth centuries, however, we know that there was trade between the three countries on the Arabian Sea: Southern Arabia, East Africa and the West Coast of India. Though this trade was primarily and overwhelmingly Arab, it also gave rise to Indian, more particularly Gujarati, participation, even though on a very limited scale. However, with the colonial expansion of Britain in East and South Africa, a new and very vigorous impulse has been given to large-scale immigration into these African countries from India. This and the occupational characteristics of the new wave of Indians in Africa are perhaps two main reasons why the strong cultural heritage of India has so far played an insignificant role in the formation of Africa's new national interpretation of Panafricanism as a possibility or a hope.

The oldest, largest and culturally most intimately Africa-connected concentration of Asians—Indians and Pakistanis—on the eastern side of the Arabian Sea is now in East Africa, leaving aside the South African Union (400,000 Asians) with its entirely different background and future prospects. South Africa is the only country of the African continent in which the pending growth to independence and the final severing of political ties with Europe holds out a terrible threat for the majority of its peoples: the attempt at a state of permanent subordination of all non-Europeans to the White citizens (Patterson, 1953:31, 44, 49). The course of events in the rest of Africa has in recent years been marked by the attainment of independence in a growing number of states.

The following table gives the distribution of population by races in the four countries of East Africa following actual figures computed in 1957 for Tanganyika, in 1958 for Zanzibar, and estimated for mid-1958 for Kenya and Uganda:*

| Country | Africans | Asians | Arabs | Europeans | Total population |
|------------|-----------|---------|--------|-----------|------------------|
| Kenya | 6,080,000 | 165,000 | 35,500 | 54,700 | 6,351,000 |
| Zanzibar | 228,815 | 18,334 | 46,989 | 507 | 299,111 |
| Uganda | 5,619,300 | 56,600 | 2,000 | 9,000 | 5,688,900 |
| Tanganyika | 8,662,684 | 76,536 | 19,088 | 20,534 | 8,785,613 |

*The Statesman's Year Book, 1959.

All population groups, are increasing rapidly, especially the Asian and European communities, whose natural growth has been further enhanced by continuing immigration. For instance, even though there are no large-scale European farm settlements in Uganda, the European community in that country is said to have tripled during the last eleven years and the Asian doubled. What will happen to non-Africans in general, and to the numerous Asians in particular, after independence? Nationalists everywhere are inclined to think in terms of "Foreigners go home!" However, experience in former colonies indicates that a greater rather than a smaller number of foreigners find employment after these countries attained independence. Nevertheless, in Africa the situation is complicated by the emotions excited by the colour-bar, the important White settlements in reserved areas and especially by the permanently worsening situation in South Africa. These are partly political issues, with which this book is not concerned. But from the cultural viewpoint, the situation of Asians in East Africa deserves a special kind of consideration.

As already mentioned, the bulk of the present Asians came when the British began, in 1901, to build a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, and to colonize Kenya. From humble beginnings as indentured labourers, petty traders, contractors, clerks and subordinate officials, a new economically powerful Asian group has grown. Its importance should not be underestimated, but its peculiar position should also be fully understood. At present it is a solidly entrenched middle-class and it is likely to be a long time before Africans are able to take over the handling of big finance, the conduct of trade and the performance of technical tasks which are now almost an Asian monopoly. Yet the time for the African middle-class is bound to come. Generally, East African Indians are primarily business men, interested in money, not idealists planning for a new way of life. Their past attitude has often stressed the barriers between their own traditions and those of the pre-literate, tribal Africans. Moreover, a class of small traders in a predominantly agricultural or proletarian population not infrequently stirs up adverse feelings, especially when the trade is linked with the advancing of goods against interests. It is a situation which does not hold out significant promise of happy solutions to knotty problems, but there are also other, and brighter, sides to the picture.

The desire for culture as such, and for cultural ties with their mother countries, has arisen among the second and the third generations of Asians proportionally as they have grown more prosperous. The improved transport of our time makes regular home leave available for a sizable minority of Asians in East Africa which, if still small, is not without influence on the entire community. This is not to say that these casual contacts should be over-rated. True, such home leave is mostly dedicated to family and business, instead of to *ashrams* or other sources of traditional inspiration. It is likewise true that many African Asians feel that their own higher

living standards in Africa are proof enough that the mother country has nothing to give them that they do not already have. However, the culturally most receptive among them realize more and more the danger of losing their own cultural roots without which they have no chance of taking part in the African synthesis which is the need of tomorrow.

The African Synthesis. This is the core of the problem.

Africa has been flooded by, and dumped with, foreign things and ideas, in an unprecedented manner. The arsenal of acculturation that it now forms is, without synthesis, bound to turn into chaos. The synthesis is on the way, but it must be all comprising and the process of adjustment must be mutual.

The attempt to eradicate from the Africa of tomorrow the technology of today, on the ground that it had come from abroad yesterday, would be as unrealistic as an attempt to remove from western music all the elements and indirect influences which the African genius has contributed to it, especially during the past half century. In this connection it may be useful to appreciate what contemporary Westerners feel, for there are significant changes of orientation taking place at the higher level, even in some religiously dogmatic groups. For example, on April 19, 1959, a Frenchman, M. de Bourbon-Busset, giving for the *Cercle Saint-Jean-Baptiste* in Paris a lecture about the role of culture in the world of tomorrow aptly pointed out how modern technology permits most diversified cultures to know each other thoroughly and to co-exist, but he also pointed out how technical progress strengthens the strong and weakens the weak and that there is a great need for cultural synchronization in order to counteract the perpetually growing dangers of destruction through excessive mechanization. He expressed his conviction that there were intrinsic values in cultures foreign to the West and that they possess treasures which are useful to the whole of mankind. He pointed especially to Africa, south of the Sahara (*l'Afrique Noire—Black Africa*) which "has been ignored . . . whilst her contributions could be particularly valuable in our epoch, characterized by the tendency to lose the contact with nature and with the sense of the sacred." He pronounced his belief in an "inner alchemy" of cultural world developments, based on "the freedom of the spirit." Even though his conviction that this freedom can be "defended and developed" by Christianity best, and "propagated" by the Roman Catholic Church alone, may perhaps not be shared in other circles, it is yet significant that some among the religiously dogmatic acknowledge now the necessity to speak to all without distinction of "environment or race and even without that of different cultures." (Parijs, 1959:2).

The change evident in this will be of equal interest to Africans and to Asians in Africa. Both are still in a position which is culturally dominated

by European systems of thought and by a European system of education. European intellectuals recognize their failure in coping at home with the new technology of our world civilization. Some at least turn in earnest to other cultures, in the hope of finding solutions by blending values.

III

What will be the role of India's cultural capital, of Indian traditional values, in the blending of systems which is bound to come about with the creation of a genuinely African pattern of life?

The very sources from which Indian cultures have grown and by which they are nourished are akin to the stream of life which the African genius pours forth.

The love of nature, expressed in worship under the sanctified roofs of living trees, the presence of the sacred, expressed in every boy's and girl's character-building through initiation rituals, or the mystique of rhythm and sound—all these are more than merely co-incidental similarities in the essence of African and Asian cultures. African ritualistic dancing and music, for instance, have much in common with the art traditions of India.

These are affinities of expression. African forms of dress are, in principle, free from the meticulous *taboo* on semi-nudity, and in this resemble the traditional Indian style far more than their European counterpart which, also, has in the meantime superseded both African and Indian styles, in spite of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave demonstrated the possibility to apply traditional styles to modern circumstances. Solutions of this kind could go a long way to solve in the future a few thorny problems in Africa, to which reference has been made elsewhere (Ehrenfels, 1959/b, c; 1960/2).

A true revival of African music and dancing, on the lines achieved in South India under Bala Saraswati's and Rukmini Devi's inspiration, is a *desideratum* long overdue. African sculpture and wood-carving are admired by connoisseurs in London, Paris and New York, but in Africa itself contemporary artists are still led to copy European art styles and to produce crucifixes, holy virgins and saints with Caucasoid features, instead of African heroes and heroines in African styles.

In this context it may seem ironical that the old Indo-Asian *ashram* idea, instead of being introduced into African life by Asians, was first put into operation there by Europeans in their small mission stations at out-of-the-way places of *the porini*.

I am not aware that any attempts have yet been made to send from Asia, Hindu or even Buddhist religious ambassadors to Africa, who may present the inner core of their religions and demonstrate the Indian approach to problems of life, an approach which has so much in common with the African sense of the sacred *within* the profane instead of alongside

it, as in Europe.

Traditional African culture is in this respect nearer to the Indian attitude, the Indian warmth of permeation through introspection, than to the more rationalistic approach of reasoning on the basis of experimental action which we find even among the definitely religious-minded Westerners. The Muslims from South Asia have similarly failed to grasp the great and unique opportunity which the spread of Islam offered them on arrival through the presence of local or more westerly Arabs. In fact, an attitude of exclusiveness developed among the Asian Muslims of East Africa under the stress of their own almost caste-like and sectarian peculiarity combined with the effects of European supremacy. Far-sighted Muslim leaders, like the late Aga Khan, perceived no doubt the grave dangers which such trends are bound to spell for a numerically small, though affluent and influential, trading community of Muslims from South Asia. He supported Muslim educational and charitable institutions with generous donations, pound per pound, if they worked for Africans, so that they might provide the platform for a common Afro-Asian Islamic Culture.

The movement towards an inter-continental African synthesis is clearly marked in this as in numerous other attitudes and actions, though it does not always proceed without certain quite puzzling inconsistencies, as when, to give a single example, Ismaili ladies in East Africa take to European clothing, abandoning their *saris* and also their *pyjamas* and *kurtas*, for a kind of tailored costume which is supposed to give symbolical help to integration into the new homeland—Africa, where the use of sewn garments in European style is an innovation more recent even than it is in India.

However, such anomalies need not cause undue concern for the future. True, nobody can give what he himself does not have, and Indians and Pakistanis have themselves become too paralysed culturally, by the fear of the body and the fear of the self to find solutions which could serve as patterns for solving the problems of Africans. But it is not an advice, nor another kind of missionary activity, imposing or trampling on local values, which is now wanted in Africa. It is a synthesis which can only be found on the path to one's own cultural identity.

If it is true that this quest has not yet found its aim in India, it is also true that, historically seen, it was a great Indian who set out on this searching path and achieved freedom for his country, the first among a great number of other European-dominated and now independent lands.

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INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

By

Dr. Amba Prasad

Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar collectively constitute East Africa. There are nearly 3,50,000 Indians who have settled down there for good. The future of these people of Indian origin is closely linked with the other inhabitants of these territories, primarily with the African population. Suggestions have been made in the recent past that the Indian community should integrate itself with the African people. An attempt has been made in this article to assess the role that these people have played in the political and economic life of East Africa and to suggest measures through which integration can be brought about between the Indian and the African communities for their mutual benefit.

I

IN THE PRESENT phase of African nationalism, which is entering the critical stage when nationalism is most sensitive, it is quite natural for the African people to be concerned about the immigrant communities. It is important that this is understood and realized by Indians. There is no doubt that there is an intensely strong feeling against European settlers in Kenya, but some feeling is growing against other immigrants as well. The feeling against Indians is of a more recent growth; one may say it is ten years old in Uganda and six years old in Kenya. In Tanganyika the relations are happy. Indians there have adopted a constructive attitude and, thanks to the leadership of Julius Nyerere, TANU and the Tanganyika Indian Association agree largely in their aims and hence there is some recognition of the contribution made by Indians to the economic and political life of Tanganyika. In the complex political situation of Kenya, however, a moderate view is difficult to hold for fear a leader should lose his position. More recently, particularly since the Lancaster constitutional conference, held early in 1960, the differences have come to a head on the question of the communal versus the common roll. Some Indians have asked that they should have reservation of seats. The Lancaster House stand was strongly condemned by a group of thirty-one Indians in a cable to the Secretary of State during the conference and who afterwards formed themselves into the Kenya Freedom Party. Most Indians, however, want that they should be treated like other African citizens and be admitted to all the rights and obligations of such citizenship.

It is necessary to understand the factors responsible for the growth of this anti-Indian feeling among Africans. The first and the most important factor is the growth of African nationalism. The second reason is that an African middle class is beginning to emerge; since the Indian community is also a middle class community, there is competition for jobs and in trade. A third factor is the unwise words used sometimes by some Indian leaders or ill-treatment meted out by an Indian employer to his African employees or his desire to display his wealth by such means as owning a big car or building a big house. The fourth factor is the subtle European propaganda which aims at creating a split between the African and Indian communities. This has continued in one form or another since 1923 when the doctrine of "Trusteeship of Natives" was propounded in a White Paper as a measure of expediency. The fifth and the last factor is the general ignorance about the political and economic role the Indian settlers have played in East Africa's life since their settlement began.

II

It would do good both to the Indians and the Africans if this ignorance were removed. With this objective in view, we first make an appreciation of the role played by Indians in the Africans' struggle for independence.

African leaders have themselves in the past acknowledged the helpful part Indians have played in this field. Rev. C. F. Andrews reported as far back as 1921 that the late Apolo Kagwa put before a session of the Lukiko the question whether they would wish Indians to continue in the country. The vote was unanimously in favour of Indians.¹ As late as 1949, Mr. Peter Koinange said in a speech in Calcutta: "Africans are grateful to pioneer Indians in Africa, who had fought for the rights of the native Africans even when they themselves did not know how to do it."²

The European settlers, on the other hand, repeatedly declared that Indians had done nothing for the country. A revealing explanation for this comes from a European writer. He says that the actual fact is that Europeans "know that it was the Indian population which prevented them in the 1920's from following Southern Rhodesia's lead in becoming a self-governing colony."³ This fact alone should add considerably to the credit side of Indian achievements.

The Indian contribution to political life is manifest from several facts. First is their consistent and unflinching struggle against racial discrimination in any form and for the establishment of racial equality in all things. This agitation was responsible for creating political consciousness

1. Andrews C. F. *The Indian Question In East Africa* (Nairobi, 1921), p. 82.

2. *Times of India*, Bombay, Sept. 17, 1949.

3. Robinson S., "Men and Ideas in Kenya Today, in *Race and Power*," (London, 1956), p. 62.

among Africans. Their agitation was first directed against segregation in townships. As a result, segregation as a policy was given up in 1923 though it continued in practice. Indians also launched and carried on an agitation against the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans. Though success did not attend their efforts, the agitation initiated by them was more vigorously taken up by the Kikuyu Central Association and later the Mau Mau movement. In the field of public service also, Indians started sending memorials and deputations and holding mass meetings for the establishment of equal rights with Europeans. This was followed later by a similar movement by the African community. Organizations of Indians in Government service raised and pressed the question of equality of employment opportunities for all races and also for a uniform service code for all races. As a result of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations, there was a widespread discussion of human rights for all and, at last in 1954, the Government recognised equal rights for all the races in the public service.

Another contribution made by Indians in the political field has been their agitation for the common roll. At the end of World War I, the Government announced plans for giving the European community elected representation in the Legislative Council. The Indian community made a demand for a common roll. This demand was repeated a number of times and was general in character so that the common roll would benefit not only Indians but all races. The demand for the common roll became later the most important demand of the African leaders.

An independent observer, Dr. Marjorie Dilley, writing in 1937 about the effect of the Indian agitation said: "In any case, the Indian demand for equality disturbed 'European Paramountcy', called attention to the needs and interests of other communities and led to the subsequent adoption of a policy which officially included them."⁴

A third contribution is the help Indians extended to the African national movement. In the early twenties, the sympathies of Indian community for Harry Thuku and his movement were well known. He formed the East Africa Association which started widespread political activities, helped by the Indian leader Mr. M. A. Desai, Editor of the *East African Chronicle*.⁵ The office of this newspaper was used by Thuku as his centre. As early as 1921 it became a forum for ventilating kikuyu grievances, particularly those of the *githaka* holders who demanded that proper land titles should be issued to them. The Government in fact suspected that Indians had instigated Thuku.⁶ Similarly, in 1929, when Kenyatta went to England to press the views of the Kikuyu Central Association (K. C. A.), he was taken care of by Isher Dass who was long connected with the League Against Imperialism.

4. Dilley Marjorie, *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, (N. Y., 1937) quoted in N. Gangulee: *Indians in Empire Overseas* (London, 1947), p. 104.

5. Mc Gregor Ross, *Kenya From Within* (1927), p. 191.

6. *Papers Relating to Native Disturbances in Kenya* (March 1922) cmd. 1691, pp. 3-4.

Since 1946 when the Kenya African Union was formed until 1952 when Emergency was declared, the relations between this body and Indian Congress were not only amicable but were based on co-operation. Indians and Africans responded warmly to its appeals for funds. At their annual meetings, there was an interchange of speakers. A number of joint meetings on special issues were held.

A young Indian, Makhan Singh, played a leading part in the organization of the Trade Union Movement among Africans of Kenya and was among the first few in the country openly to demand independence. In 1948, he was arrested and charged with sedition by the Kenya Government. He is still in exile.

Similarly, general Indian support for the nationalist movement has been held to be responsible for the Mau Mau movement. The Corfield Report clearly mentions that the support of the East Africa Indian National Congress was a factor in the rise and spread of the Mau Mau.⁷ The Report says: "The Indian community had for some years identified itself with what is considered the legitimate political aspirations of the Africans"⁸ and adds that in a meeting held in Nairobi on April 23, 1950, attended by a very large crowd, a final resolution was passed by a majority "which called for the immediate declaration of independence for all East African territories, with a democratically elected Government."⁹ Corfield's further view is that the "activities of a fringe of the Asian community gave considerable help to the spread of subversion, and so to the spread of Mau Mau."¹⁰ After the declaration of emergency, Indian support began largely to disappear though Indians arranged for the legal defence of Jomo Kenyatta by forming the Indo-African Relief Committee.

A fourth fact is that Indians and Africans co-operated inside and outside the Legislative Councils. On the proposals for closer union of territories of East Africa during 1930-31, the Indian members supported the African stand. Their combined opposition led to abandonment of the proposals. Similar attempts later by the British Government also came to grief because of a joint Indo-African stand.

There was thus a good deal of closeness of views on political questions between Indians and Africans. The Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha on August 12, 1946, adopted a resolution, the last part of which "noted with pleasure that cordial relations prevail between East Africans and Indians."¹¹ Mr. S. G. Amin, who was President of the East African National Congress at the time, wrote in 1947: "The relations between the Africans, Indians and Arabs are most cordial . . . There has not been any single occasion during the last fifty

7. F. D. Corfield, *The Origin and Growth of Mau Mau*, Sessional Paper 5 of 1959 (60), Para 35, p. 56.

8. *Ibid.*, para 35, p. 56.

9. *Ibid.*, para 35, p. 57.

10. *Ibid.*, para 19, p. 223.

11. *The Hindu*, Madras, August 14, 1946.

years or so when Indians, Africans and Arabs have had reason to differ from each other on any fundamental issue and progressive and radical elements in the European community have always expected the Indian community to take the leadership in their struggles.¹²

Mr. Fenner Brockway, who visited Kenya in 1950, reported on the "excellent spirit of co-operation between African and Indian communities."¹³ The Kenya Indian Congress statement of policy issued in 1953 and the statement of policy of the African Elected Members Organisation issued as late as 1959 were similar as to aims and objectives.¹⁴

In one more respect Indians have contributed to political advance in East Africa. The Indian community took the lead in the opening of common schools for Indians and Africans, thus paving the way for a common consciousness and racial equality. The Gandhi Memorial Academy is a monument of Indians' regard for Africans.

More facts and examples could be mentioned of Indian-African co-operation in the political field, but the above is sufficient to show that Indians and Africans have had a common cause and that Indians have helped directly and indirectly in the development of political consciousness in Africa.

III

The contribution of Indians to the economic progress of East Africa has been far greater than in the political field.

Let us first consider the negative aspect of the question. The Indian community's economic activity cannot be described by any terminology in the colonial or imperial dictionary. It cannot be termed 'exploitation'. The Indian trader's is a peaceful individual enterprise without the support of powerful economic organisations in Africa or back at home. Whereas earlier European colonial activity was dominated by mercantilist ideas—that the colonies existed solely for the benefit of the mother country—this was nowhere the feature of the activities of the people of Indian origin. India did not experience at all the modern phase of economic imperialism and industrial capitalism which led to the scramble for Africa among the European nations. Nor have Indians ever aspired for any economic or political domination which are the marked features of the activities of the white minority of South Africa or Kenya. In fact, Indian settlers had to carry on their occupations under great economic and political disabilities imposed by the Governments of the colonies. For instance, the Marketing of Produce Bill of 1932 benefited only the Europeans and increased the distress of the Indian small trader. Similarly, the attempt to establish European monopoly of the clove trade in 1934 in Zanzibar led to discrimination against Indian traders.

12. *The Leader*, Allahabad, June 8, 1947.

13. *The Indian Express*, Madras, November 20, 1950.

14. *East African Standard*, Nairobi, April 6, 1959.

It cannot be denied that some unsocial elements have exploited the illiterate Africans by using questionable methods. But their number is small and such elements are known to exist in every society. The Indian Government has always condemned such activities and made it clear to settlers that they must always put the interests of the indigenous population first. The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru's consistent stand is put pithily in one sentence, "We want to have no Indian vested interests at the expense of the population of these countries."

Historically speaking, Indians have played a very noble role which sets a happy background to their economic contribution. Indians had carried on peaceful trade long before the coming of the Europeans and much before the Arabs started their activity in this region. Even in the times when India was free, there was no idea of exploiting Africa. Secondly, Indians were always welcome as settlers. The Arabs invited Indians to settle in East Africa. Sultan Said is known to have personally gone to receive Indians coming to Zanzibar. Thus, in 1860, the number of Indian settlers in East Africa was more than five thousand. Indians were again invited for the construction of the Uganda Railway because African labour was not available. About 32,000 Indians went for this work and faced great risks. According to the First Report of the Uganda Railway Committee (1903), as many as nine thousand had been invalidated or had died.¹⁵ Thus, the Uganda Railway is a constant reminder of the Indian sacrifice for African's economic development. One more thing is to be noted. Prof. Coupland points out how Indians were anxious that the slave trade should be quickly and finally abolished and offered their help to the British in this respect.¹⁶

Apart from their part in the construction of the Uganda Railway, Indian community's positive contribution to East Africa's economic progress covers all aspects of economic life—trade, industry, skilled occupations, agriculture.

The largest number of Indians are in retail trade. No better testimony can be quoted of the Indian contribution to trade than that of the East African Royal Commission of 1953-1955 which was by no means partial to Indians. The Commission pointed out that the growth of modern commerce in East Africa was largely due to the activities of the Indians. It explained the Indian role in these words: "Indeed, the remarkable tenacity and courage of Indian traders had been mainly responsible for stimulating the wants of the indigenous peoples, even in the remotest areas, by opening to them a shop window on the modern world and for collecting for sale elsewhere whatever small surpluses are available for disposal."¹⁷ In a similar strain a memorandum by the Administration of Tanganyika, issued in 1933, says that "the Indian trader penetrates and settles in the most distant areas, plays no small part in the encouragement

15. Quoted by Hill M. F., *Permanent Way* (Nairobi, 1949), p. 240.

16. Coupland R., *East Africa and Its Invaders* (Oxford, 1938), p. 325.

17. *Report of the East African Royal Commission 1953-1955*, p. 65.

of local native agriculture and brings the products of civilisation almost to the native's door."¹⁸

Indians have not only introduced and developed trade in a primitive economy, they have also not mulcted the consumer. The Census Report of 1931 officially admitted this fact and found a great margin between prices charged by Europeans and those charged by Indians. Indians are able to do so because their wants are limited, they are satisfied with a smaller margin of profit and they are hard-working and save on labour.

Next to trade, Indians have taken to skilled occupations. They are persons with small capital but are known for honest, hard work and have trained quite a large body of Africans as well in craftsmanship and skilled jobs. Some of the retail traders are taking to manufacture of commodities of everyday use such as electric appliances, washing soap, aluminium utensils, glassware etc. They have taught the art of boot-making and shoe-making to Africans. But most important of these occupations are the manufacture of wood and cork. Saw-milling is entirely in Indian hands. Such occupations, requiring small capital, are so essential to the economy of East Africa that more and more Indians are wanted in these occupations.

Industry is necessary to lighten the burden of the country's economy which has traditionally rested upon agriculture. For the introduction and growth of industry, Indians have contributed a great deal. Indians were pioneers in setting up oil mills for producing cottonseed oil and groundnut oil, in introducing timber industry and in the production of sugar. Sugar was first manufactured in East Africa at Buundu in 1920. Since then a number of Indian-owned sugar mills have been established in Kenya and Uganda. In these industries Indians are not only the pioneers but the sole promoters. Though not pioneers, Indians are now largest owners of ginneries. In Uganda alone, Indians own 138 out of a total of 163 ginneries.

In agriculture, East Africa requires commercial crops to develop her economy. Indians have been pioneers in sugar and sisal plantation. In cotton, tea and coffee, Europeans were the pioneers, but Indians are playing now a more important part. Indians have been mainly responsible for exporting cotton and have been able to pay higher rates to the native cotton grower and in this and other ways have helped to raise his standard of living. Only in Tanganyika do the Indians enjoy an opportunity to acquire adequate land; elsewhere there are restrictions on their right to purchase land. Their interest in agriculture is clearly shown by the fact that the few farms which Indians own in Tanganyika compare favourably with those run by the white settlers. Perhaps some Indians uprooted from trade as a result of the recent boycott in Uganda will be settled on land as agriculturists.

18. Colonial No. 148, 1938, pp. 72 seq.

These facts show that Indians have invested and reinvested their savings and profits in East Africa. It is difficult to say what part of their savings they have sent outside. But it cannot be very large. The social institutions of Indians, for instance the joint family system, impose certain obligations on them to support their dependents in India. A recent estimate has established that in Kenya about 70 per cent of the Indian households were remitting money to their dependents in India. On an average, a household was remitting 730 shillings annually.¹⁹

There is no doubt that East Africa is still very poor; the standard of living is low, communications are under-developed, mineral wealth has not been explored and capital for development has to be found. For all this, the colonial nature of the economy is responsible. Indians have not been partners in this colonial loot.

IV

All those who are interested in the economic development of East Africa have laid stress on some kind of integration of the Indian and the African communities. African leaders have held this as a desirable goal.

Though coming with common cultural background, Indians have not presented the picture of a homogeneous group due to religious differences and sectional feelings. (Caste ties, of course, have shown a tendency to loosen in the new environments.) The formation of Pakistan has further split the Indian community. For this reason the Indian impact on African society has not gone far. The Africans, though divided into more than one hundred different tribes with their distinct languages and further affected by new social stratification as a result of urbanization, are united by a strong feeling of nationalism.

The problem of integration has various aspects. They can be classified as (1) political, (2) economic, (3) social, (4) cultural, (5) religious and (6) emotional.

The greatest obstacle to political integration was dual citizenship. This gave rise to the feelings that Indians had double loyalties, one to India or Pakistan and the other to the country of their adoption. The British Nationality Act of 1948, however, removed all doubts and Indians became British citizens. There was left no dual nationality for Indians. Further doubts, if any, were removed by the legislation in the Indian Parliament in 1955 under which Indian settlers had to give up their Indian citizenship in favour of the citizenship of East African territories. So, as regards citizenship, there remain no differences between Indians and Africans. Indians are now 'Africans' as much as Africans themselves. A majority of them are born in East Africa and know no other home.

19. Rao G. R., "Indian Immigrants in Kenya" *Indian Economic Journal*, Vo. IV. No. 1, July, 1956.

As a first essential step towards integration, it is necessary that Indians be accepted as *citizens* of East Africa. It is equally imperative that Indians should themselves accept this position without reservations.

For the development of a national outlook, Indians have to give up all ideas of reservation of seats for the Indian minority or ideas contained in such concepts as a multi-racial society. They have played a significant role in spreading political consciousness in East Africa. They have always stood for racial equality. They should now unanimously ask for the common roll and accept the principle of one man one vote, thus identifying themselves completely with the Africans, as has been done by their brothers in Tanganyika. The African leaders have to trust Indians if this common political outlook has to develop; they should throw open membership of their parties to Indians. Indians obviously can never be rivals of the Africans for political power.

For fostering of economic relations, the problem is created, in the first place, by some Indians remitting their savings to India, in the second place, by their exclusiveness in trading and industrial concerns and, in the third place, by Africans' resorting to boycott of Indian traders. Both Indians and Africans have first to understand the reasons and motives behind each community's actions. For instance, if Africans understand Indian social institutions and customs, they will not mind these small remittances. As for the second, Indians should start joint African-Indian concerns. The third disturbing factor—boycott of Indian traders—is inevitable in the emerging class and social structure of East Africa and Indians have to understand it. The way out is to establish partnership concerns of Indians and Africans or to establish co-operative credit societies which can give loans to Africans on easy terms, thus establishing conditions of equal competition.

But already good ground for economic integration exists in certain respects. First, there is growing a great deal of integration between skilled and semi-skilled Indian and African workers. Indians are imparting training to Africans in skills of various kinds; they mix with them freely. Secondly, the Indian employer has shown respect and regard for the African labour; colour has been no consideration with him. The great firm of Karimjee Bros. in Tanganyika has set an excellent example of this. With the growth of a trade union movement in course of time, a good basis of integration would be found among Indians and Africans.

As regards the social aspect of integration, Indians have taken the most helpful step of discarding the colour bar. In fact, they have consistently fought for its abolition in every form. They have also started inter-racial schools, colleges and hospitals in different parts of East Africa.

An Indian socially is a great mixer. He learns the language of the people among whom he works and, though keeping to his way of life, does not hesitate to mix with them freely. Inter-marriages between Indians and Africans is the best way to bring about social integration and to round off the racial, social and psychological angularities of the two

communities. Girls of the Ismaili sect (followers of the Aga Khan) are marrying African boys. Some Indians have also married African girls in country townships and are living happily with their families. Their number is, however, small. But inter-marriage cannot be imposed on a society. It will come gradually with the growth of education. Marriage is linked up with the religion and customs of a people and these they are keen to preserve, though adapting them to new or changed environments. As African society changes from a polygamous into a monogamous one, as Indians gradually loosen their ties with India, and as social contacts develop between Indians and Africans, the way would be clear for better social cohesion. Indians now look to India for their educational and social needs. With the development of educational opportunities in Africa, their connection with India will grow weaker.

As regards religion and culture, the greatest obstacle to integration between Indians and Africans has come from the Christian missions and Europeans. They did not want any impact of Indian religion and culture upon the Africans; they rather wanted to keep Indian influences out in order to implant western culture and religion in East Africa. This has been their declared policy. Christianity has spread and so has western culture. But the African is quite ignorant of the deeper aspects of Hindu religion or Indian culture. Indians have done nothing to disseminate Indian thought, Hindu religion or Hindu values. Africans would like to learn and look beyond what only one religion may have to teach them. Culture is a universal heritage and both Indians and Africans have to learn from each other's culture. African students who are coming to India for higher studies in Indian universities, can learn a lot about Indian culture and share their learning with African friends after they return home. Let political pride or past inhibition not stand in the way of healthy cultural exchange.

Emotional integration is perhaps the most important thing. Indians have to develop an outlook that they belong to East Africa, that they have to live or die for their nation. A sentiment of common nationality and a common political and economic outlook are most important. Sometime logic has to be sacrificed for the sake of respect for a sentiment. For instance, the African sentiment that Indians should not purchase lands in the Highlands may be respected.

Thus, the true basis for integration has to be sought in common political and economic ideas and ideals. The aim should be: unity in diversity—unity in political outlook with diversity in culture.

ART IN NIGERIA

By

HARSIMRAN MALIK

ART IN NIGERIA today is passing through a period of adaptation, of experimentation, of rediscovery. In the past, Nigeria's greatest contributions to world culture were its arts of wood carving and bronze casting and masks—its traditional arts, which in the early twentieth century influenced European painters including Vlaminck, Derain, Picasso and Modigliani, who found in these art forms a strength of creativity which made the representative conventions of European art seem rigid and sterile.

But in Nigeria today, as in so many other countries which have only recently regained their political freedom, there is going on an intellectual struggle between the many who feel that the traditional arts should be repudiated as reminders and remnants of archaic, backward ways of life, which must give way to completely new and better ways, and the comparatively few who recognize the value of ancient traditions in helping to build a stable and sound modern Nigeria.

Any country dominated by western colonialism inherited this appreciation of western art and literature, carefully nurtured by the colonial rulers at the expense of the indigenous cultural heritage which they considered, and taught, to be inferior, although in most cases it was more ancient and advanced than the foreign.

To counteract this invidious product of colonial rule there is the strong new nationalism from which springs a powerful desire to create art forms which can express in a special way the national genius. And here again, in Nigeria, which achieved its independence last year, traditional arts are once more finding their place as an integral ingredient of the national character.

Nigerian art is not merely a "museum art"; it is a living art, used in rituals that have come down through the ages. The traditional arts of wood carving and bronze casting have their homes chiefly in the lands of the Yoruba and the Bini. Yoruba wood-carvers were employed by the chiefs and by the priests of traditional cults to carve masks and figures for ceremonial dances, and to decorate the doors of palaces. Scenes from Yoruba life are represented in these carvings and kings and mounted warriors and hunters stalking bush animals can still be seen on magnificent old doors in Ekiti country.

Benin, in the land of the Bini, was the traditional centre for the guild of brass workers whose figures impress the modern viewer with their strength and compactness. Heads of Obas, the tribal chieftains, cast in

bronze, were ceremonial objects that were placed on the altars of deceased Obas. Famous deeds of the Oba were commemorated by relief plaques which were then nailed to the square pillars of their palaces.

The danger today lies in the fact that traditional artists may entirely disappear for lack of patronage. The priests are too poor and the chiefs have moved into new cement houses where wood carving and bronze casting no longer find any place. Consequently, many carvers' families have taken up carpentry in order to live and both carvers and casters have gone into the tourist trade for which they make copies of famous traditional works. In either case the standard of art is bound to deteriorate.

Fortunately, local demands still keep the craft alive in some places. In the eastern regions of Nigeria, masquerade dances take place at festival and holiday times and for these, local artists produce masks which are frequently caricatures or comical carvings of local figures and professions. Recently, the head of the Benin brass workers produced two brass plaques commemorating the visit of Queen Elizabeth to the city and presented them to the Oba.

One of the most serious and successful efforts to preserve traditional arts and to help the artists has been made by the Catholic Mission of Nigeria. In the small Yoruba town of Oye-Ekiti, the Mission has carried out an important, artistic experiment. Oye-Ekiti has an old and rich artistic tradition, and a number of young carvers were assembled there by the Mission. No attempt was made to convert them to Christianity, nor were they forbidden to work for the village priests or tribal chiefs. They were merely encouraged to carve representative scenes from Christian history after being told the story of Christ and the ideals for which he stood. They were not shown any European paintings or sculptures.

The results were most interesting. These young carvers, immersed in the ancient traditions of the Yoruba, produced faces and figures of dignity and serenity, strangely reminiscent of the early Romanesque European art. Today many village churches of Ekitiland are decorated with carved doors and altar-pieces, the work of these traditional artists. Critics may argue that these carvings, pleasant as they are, lack the strong definition and intensity of the old masterpieces which owed their inspiration to a deeply rooted religious feeling, but no one would deny the importance and value of the experiment which has provided new work for the carvers as well as given them a new social prestige.

As mentioned earlier, architectural wood carving was an old tradition of both the Yoruba and the Bini. Gradually this tradition is being revived. The doors of the Catholic Chapel of the University College, Ibadan, are carved with traditional Nigerian motifs. In the Western House of Assembly in the same city, Yoruba artists have decorated the President's chair and desk with carved panels. The new National Hall in Lagos, the national capital, is the work of a young artist, Felix Idubor, whose style and technique are influenced by his art studies in Europe.

His carving has a simplicity and beauty of its own and while the themes are pure Nigerian, the execution appears to be a successful blend of the ancient tradition and the new techniques.

Nigeria's changing social and economic patterns in the last three decades have also produced a new and an interesting art form—the cement sculptures, which are very popular with the Yoruba in western, and the Ibibio in eastern Nigeria. This art form is the creation of the newly emerged middle class, whose recently acquired wealth and power demand status symbols which will in no way encroach on the traditional ways of the Obas.

This wealthy middle class built for themselves a type of house known as the "Brazilian" house, a form of architecture introduced by repatriated slaves from Brazil. The houses are double-storied, often made of mud, coated with cement, decorated in roccoco fashion with balustrades, balconies and ornate window-frames. Guarding the entrance or decorating the facades are the cement sculptures. These lions, elephants, soldiers, many originally inspired by heraldic designs seen in Brazil, show no visible connection with traditional art and are, in fact, created by brick-layers, not by the carvers. This is purely decorative art, flamboyant and gay, with no serious purpose. In Ekiti country, these cement sculptures decorate the new palaces of the chiefs, replacing the ancient, more sophisticated carvings.

The Ibibio people use the cement sculptures for another purpose, that of decorating their funeral monuments. The countryside resembles a tremendous outdoor sculpture museum. Figures of seated or standing men or women on high pedestals—some surrounded by their entire families, some on horseback—are a familiar sight. These monuments are a blend of the ancient custom of the "second burial" ceremony with the new Christian influence, and are an expression of a spontaneously developed folk art.

Another very different example of folk art is advertising art. In this field, a new profession "sign writing" has come into existence. This has its roots in the ancient mural paintings found in some Yoruba shrines but more frequently in eastern Nigeria in the Ibo country. Here, wall paintings, with semi-traditional themes, were part of architectural decoration. Even in present times, painting is very popular in village schools in this part of the country; often pupils decorate their school-houses with their work.

The modern Nigerian "sign-writer" is not an art student. His schooling is often elementary, his training in art non-existent. This gives his work a freshness and vigour which is most attractive. His creative ability covers a wide range—traders' signboards by the roadside, bar interiors in Lagos and other cities, barbers' signs with vivid illustrations of the various types of haircuts available, portraits of public figures. Every town in the country has its collection of small wooden huts near the main road where the "sign-writers" live, exhibit samples of their work

and take commissions.

They also help to make the Nigerian roadways gay and colourful, for they decorate the lorries with elaborate mottoes and benevolently smiling heraldic lions which resemble the stylised cement lions of the Brazilian houses. In some places, local cinemas use the "sign-writers'" talents and advertise the current films with chalk drawings on a blackboard. This is contemporary folk art with a vigorous personality.

Contemporary artists in any developing country face many difficulties. When a nation urgently needs hospitals and schools and dams, the demands of the artist are inevitably pushed into the background. In addition, there is the unavoidable conflict, already referred to, between new western art influences and the old classical traditions. In traditional African society the artist was an essential member of the community. Today that is not so. He has to make a place for himself. In Nigeria, as in many other countries, the artist has to struggle to express himself as an individual, and at the same time make himself comprehensible both to his European public who admire traditional African art and expect him to express himself through it, and the Nigerian middle class who have grown away from tradition to an appreciation of the more old-fashioned schools of European art.

Most contemporary Nigerian artists have a different background from the traditional carvers and bronze casters. A few of these traditional artists have succeeded in developing individual styles and have successfully made the transition from traditional craftsmanship to individual creative work. One of these is Yemi Bisiri, a Yoruba brass-caster. He uses the traditional wax method of casting, but his figures for the ancient Ogboni society reveal a highly individual style and show great vitality and movement. He is constantly inventing new forms and modifying his style, instead of merely copying the traditional figures.

Idah, a carver from Benin, is another who has developed from the traditional to new techniques. He is an extreme individualist who lives inside the ancient city wall in a house built by himself and decorated with cement sculptures of men and animals which are his creation.

Both of these two men have received only the traditional training. The younger Nigerian artists, however, have studied and exhibited in London, Paris and New York. Two of them, Ben Enwonwu and Felix Idubor, are already well known outside Africa; they are amongst the pioneers of modern Nigerian art.

Ben Enwonwu, who now holds the post of Federal Art Adviser, works in a variety of styles. His sculptures, which can be found on many public buildings, show very well the conflict within the artist himself. Some of these works are conventional; for instance, the statue of the Queen in front of the Federal House of Representatives. But others, like his bronze statue "The Awakening" outside the Nigerian Museum in Lagos, show individuality and beauty and seem to be a true expression of the artist's original creative talents. But even this work shows the basic conflict

between the modern and the conventional. The movement of the figure, the rise of the body in a graceful sweep, is modern and almost an abstraction of movement, but the hands and the face, though beautiful, are more conventional. Ben Enwonwu's long mystical figures in wood are perhaps the greatest expressions of his personality and thoughts.

The same conflict is found in his paintings, some of which are routine landscapes rich with colours. Others, such as his series "Africa Dances", have a rhythm and power of movement which are almost bizarre, and yet fascinating. To see them is an emotional experience, as the painting of them must have been. But this artist still has to come to an understanding, a balance within himself, between Africa and Europe.

The work of Felix Idubor has already been mentioned. His wood carvings show the influence of his European experience, but although they are far different from the traditional, they are Nigerian in essence and executed in a personal style which seems to be a successful marriage of the old and the new.

Another young sculptor, Festus Idehen, creates works in cement. There are an increasing number of talented young artists in Nigeria, and most of them will have to go through the same difficulties, the same conflicts, which are perhaps inevitable for all artists with ancient traditions in this age of modern art. Eventually, as is also inevitable, those with genuine creative talent will make their mark.

Several European artists are identified with the artistic life in Nigeria. John Danford, of the British Council, created the first public work by an European in Nigeria—the bronze statue of Emotan, the national heroine of Benin. This is, however, a conventional piece of European sculpture. Of greater interest, because of its modern conception, is the Crucifixion mural in the Catholic Chapel of the University College at Ibadan, the work of Mike Pilcher, a young British artist. But neither Pilcher nor Danford identify themselves or their artistic expressions with either traditional or contemporary Nigerian art forms.

Only Suzanne Wenger, an Austrian painter, whose home for the past nine years has been a Yoruba village, shows the influence of her environments. Not only has she learned the Yoruba language, but she has studied their religion and philosophy and understands the basis of the traditional arts. She interprets Yoruba myths and expresses herself through "adire", the Yoruba batik technique. Yoruba women decorate their wrappers with this work. Suzanne Wenger has adapted the technique for the creation of wall hangings which relate the Yoruba myths, through batik figures. Her work is not only admired in European art circles, but proves its understanding of Yoruba traditions and its kinship to them by its popularity with the village people, who in some cases have commissioned the artist to decorate their shrines.

As Nigeria develops economically, as more and more of her artists go abroad for study and artistic experience, as new ways of life replace the old, the traditional art forms will undergo even greater changes. For to be

creative, to invoke understanding and to evoke appreciation and enjoyment, art must be attuned to the tempo of the times, must in some way express the mental climate of the nation, be it active and optimistic as in Nigeria today, or stagnant and dull as it has been in the past in other countries.

The conflict between traditionalism and modern ideas will continue. There will be a revaluation of the old, perhaps followed by its absorption by the new. And in the end, a new creative contemporary Nigerian art will emerge.

ALGERIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By

DINESH SINGH, M.P.

The following is the text of a talk delivered by Mr. Dinesh Singh, M.P., General Secretary of the Indian Council for Africa, over All India Radio on March 1, 1961.

FOR OVER SIX YEARS now the people of Algeria have been paying for their freedom in blood. Roughly, a million people have made the supreme sacrifice. They have died so that their countrymen may live in freedom. This is not a mere agitation for some obscure political rights or for personal gains of one party as some interested people would have us believe; it is a fight for independence. Otherwise, so many could not have died and many more would not have responded to the call of their leaders. The fight of the Algerian people for their liberation from the French rule is a story of sacrifice and heroism in which untrained and ill-equipped civilian population has taken up arms against the might of France with all its resources in men and materials. The Army of France with the help of the Air Force and the Navy, supplied with the latest equipment from the N.A.T.O., has not been able to subdue the nationalists. This is, therefore, a people's war. It could never have been sustained otherwise.

The French case on Algeria is a narration of claims and statements, mostly false, to try to prove that Algeria was never one independent country till the French conquered it, that Algeria is now an integral part of France and that the Algerians are French and that they would be happy to live as Frenchmen. The problem of Algeria is said to be that of the settlers of European descent, the 'colons,' who would not be willing to see Algeria detached from France and France could not be expected to abandon a million Frenchmen.

Let us examine these claims.

When the French invaded Algeria in 1830, Algeria was theoretically under the Turkish rule. But, with the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Regency of Algeria had become increasingly more independent. In 1830, Algeria was virtually an independent country having independent commercial and diplomatic relations with many countries, including France and the United States of America. In fact, the proclamation issued by France at the time of the invasion declared that the invading forces were going to liberate the Algerian inhabitants from their tyrannous oppressors and to drive out the Turks so that the Arabs could again be the masters in their homeland. No sooner the country was occupied, the French decided to rule it themselves.

The Algerians never accepted the French rule and there have been armed revolts throughout the period of the French domination. Organized political parties started appearing from 1924, when the efforts of the leaders failed to get implementation of the pledges made by the Allies during the First World War. The slogans of the Second World War and the Atlantic Charter raised new hopes, but they were shattered suddenly on V. E. Day. On May 8, 1945, while the Allies were celebrating their victory in Europe, the French forces in Algeria fired upon the defenceless civilians, who had gathered to demand for the Algerians the same right for which the Allies were said to have fought. It was a horrible act and, according to nationalists, resulted in the death of about 45,000 people. For the next 9 years the Algerian Nationalists tried, with every means at their command, to make successive French Governments see reason. But the Algerian 'façade' was so carefully constructed and protected that, when the nationalist movement developed, the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen found it difficult to understand that there was a genuine nationalist desire for freedom in Algeria. They accepted readily the official position that the movement was the work of a few 'mischievous agitators.' To their minds Algeria was French. There was no question of foreign domination and, therefore, no need for independence.

The excuse that the interests of the settlers of European origin in Algeria have to be protected is a familiar one, not only in Algeria, but in other parts of Africa too. Can the right of 9 million people be denied to protect the 'unjust' claims of roughly 8 lakhs? And I emphasize the word 'unjust'; the Algerian Provisional Government has given a pledge to protect the legitimate rights of the 'colons.'

The 'colons' have, till recently, enjoyed all the political rights and continue to control the economic life of the country. Encouraged by the French Government and protected by discriminatory laws, they have prospered at the cost of the indigenous population.

This is clear from the figures supplied by the French themselves. According to these, in 1958 there were nearly six million Algerians earning less than 50 dollars a year. No indigenous Algerian was earning more than 3,000 dollars a year, as compared to 15,000 'colons' in this and higher income groups. Land holding is equally unbalanced. While the average holding of an indigenous Algerian is about 12.5 acres of mixed quality land, that of a 'colon' is 275 acres of the best farmland. No national Government can tolerate this situation for long.

Actually, the 'colons' are no longer the problem of Algeria. In an interesting study made in France by the club Jean Moulin, it is said that even if a French Algerian could be retained, the economic pressure, created by the Muslims gaining equality, would soon force about 100,000

'colons' out of Algeria. According to this report, the total sum that may be required to compensate all the 'colons,' if they decide to go away, is but the cost of only 18 months of war in Algeria. Besides France has the capacity to absorb them.

There is no doubt that some people in France are afraid that Algerian freedom will affect their prosperity. They feel that while the Government will find the money to fight a war, it will not pay for the peace. They point at the recent riots in Belgium on account of higher taxes to compensate for the loss resulting from the independence of the Congo. This only goes to show how the indigenous people have to bear the whiteman's burden.

Some French people have, therefore, hit upon the idea of dividing Algeria. In conceding the right of self-determination to the people they have demanded the right of self-determination for the 'colons.' This way they hope to retain the best farmlands and industries in the coastal belt along with the oil of the Sahara. This the Algerian people will never accept. They want independence for Algeria on the basis of its territorial integrity.

The problem of Algeria is, therefore, the problem of a country wanting to shake off foreign rule to achieve independence and a colonial power wanting to hold on to its possession. The solution is obvious and inevitable. The Algerians will never accept anything short of independence.

General de Gaulle has, at last, conceded to the Algerian people their right to self-determination and has offered to give them a free choice to opt for secession from France or autonomy in association with France or complete integration with France.

Confident of the Algerian people's determination to be independent, the Provisional Algerian Government has even accepted the farce of asking the Algerian people to reaffirm what they have always demanded. There are only two conditions they have placed. The first is that the choice should be made by the Algerians themselves on the basis of the territorial integrity of the country and should not be subject to ratifications by the French. Otherwise, self-determination has no meaning. The second is that the referendum should be held under international supervision; the Algerians are only too familiar with the rigged elections held so far.

The United Nations has also recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence on the basis of the territorial integrity of Algeria. In spite of strong French opposition, it has accepted that the United Nations has a *responsibility* in the solution of

this problem. The conflict has, thus, been internationalized and the solution has been accepted. There is no alternative to Algerian independence. It is now an established fact. Let us hope France will see reason and stop further bloodshed without delay.

It is comforting to note that both France and the Algerian Provisional Government have indicated that they are willing to resume discussions which had broken off at Melum.* France has to make the next move and the world is looking to General de Gaulle to give a lead again. Through progressive stages he has brought the people in France and the 'colons' in Algeria to accept the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. A satisfactory solution of the Algerian problem, as every one knows, is possible only within the terms of Algerian freedom.

* Discussions have since been resumed at Evian.

THE COUNCIL AND ITS ACTIVITIES

PEOPLE IN INDIA have an emotional interest in Africa for it was here that the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, started his non-violent struggle against domination. Now with the emergence of several independent African states, there has been a growing desire among the people of this country to know Africa, to understand her and to develop further friendly relations with her. The basis for this can be found in the histories of both the peoples. In July, 1959, there met, at the instance of Mrs. Indira Gandhi some leaders of Indian public opinion, educationists, business men and prominent citizens and constituted a committee which was registered on March 31, 1960, as the Indian Council for Africa.

The principal aims and objects of this Council are :

- (a) To foster closer relations with democratic forces in Africa and to extend support to the people of Africa in their struggle for national independence and freedom.
- (b) To cultivate interest among the Indian people in African affairs by encouraging the study of African history, philosophy, art and culture and also by promoting the study of the political and economic problems of Africa.

To realise these objects the Council proposes to organize seminars, conferences, study circles, exhibitions, etc. This journal has also been started with the same purpose in view.

The main activities of the Council since its inception have been as follows :

Morocco Earthquake Relief Fund

One of the first duties which the Council was called upon to perform was to come to the succour of the victims of the Agadir earthquake in Mofocco. The Council raised the "Morocco Earthquake Relief Fund" and issued appeals to Indian people for generous contributions. That the response was spontaneous and whole-hearted is evident from the fact that a prisoner in Daltonganj district jail, Bihar, came forward with a donation of Rs. 1.06 nP., all that he could afford at that time. The Council received a total sum of Rs. 10,778.73 nP. and presented 113 sewing machines to H. E. the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Royal Moroccan Government, Rabat.

Delegation to the Second All-African Peoples Conference

The Council deputed one of its General Secretaries, Mr. Dinesh Singh, M.P., as an observer at the Second All-African Peoples Conference held at Tunis in January, 1960. In his report to the Council, Mr. Dinesh Singh drew attention to the rapidity with which new independent African

states were coming into existence. "The chains that held the African people in slavery," he said, "have now been broken and one by one each African country is coming forward to occupy its rightful place in the comity of nations." Turning to the still-not-independent countries, he wrote: "The inhuman colonial repression adopted as a permanent feature by the Fascist Government of Portugal in the so-called 'Overseas Portugal' is without comparison in modern times."

Giving an account of the Conference, Mr. Dinesh Singh noted that the emphasis at this Conference was on the fight against neo-colonialism. "The main evil now is the new form of colonialism trying to achieve economic domination over the economically backward countries with the help of the vested interests," he said. It was felt by the African delegates that since foreign aid could be used as an instrument to serve the aims of neo-colonialism, it should be controlled and distributed by an African agency. "It was, therefore, decided that there should be a Central African Bank to channel all foreign aid. It was also decided to have a Central Organisation for economic planning and development of Africa as a whole on scientific lines."

Mr. Dinesh Singh observed that "there was immense goodwill among Africans for Indians. They were satisfied and even pleased with the policy of the Indian Government. For them India was the symbol of the first and the historic non-violent struggle fought against colonialism on the African soil."

Solidarity with Africans

True to its objectives, the Council has been taking active interest in the happenings in Africa. Mr. Balvantray G. Mehta, M.P., the President of the Council, sent greetings to the Republic of the Cameroons, the Republic of Togoland, the Republic of Somalia, the Republic of Somaliland, the Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Malagasy, the Republic of Mali Federation, the Republic of Upper Volta, the Republic of the Niger, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Dahomey, the Central African Republic, the Republic of Chad, the Republic of French Congo, the Republic of Gabon and the Republic of Nigeria on the occasion of their independence, and to Ghana when it became a Republic. He expressed the hope that "with the passage of time, the friendly relations which are already existing between the peoples of India and Africa will be further strengthened and we, of the Council, will assure you of our earnest co-operation in this direction."

The Council has made common cause with Africans on several occasions, especially when they have expressed their righteous indignation against policies which are discriminative and unjust.

On February 17, 1960, Mr. Mehta issued a statement protesting against the atomic tests on African soil by the French. The statement regretted that France should have carried out the tests while "other countries possessing these 'nuclear' bombs have announced their decision to suspend

their nuclear tests and when efforts have been made at Geneva for a general ban on the manufacture, test, use and stock-piling of these weapons."

Again, on March 24, 1960, the President issued a statement which said that the Council was shocked to hear the news of police firing in South Africa on peaceful assemblies of Africans protesting against the Pass Laws.

On April 14, 1960, the President issued a statement in connection with the Jomo Kenyatta Day in which he said: "The Indian Council for Africa whole-heartedly supports the united demand of the Africans and Asians in Kenya and elsewhere for the unconditional release of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta." The statement added: "The British Government is now credited to be most enlightened among the colonial powers. It has, of late, been showing many signs of yielding to the dictates of freedom and democracy in many parts of Africa, Asia and elsewhere. Let us hope that it will act likewise in Kenya. The unconditional release of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta will undoubtedly pave the way to a better understanding between the British Government and the patriotic people of Kenya."

Public Meetings

The Council arranged a public meeting in sympathy with the South Africa National Congress which declared March 28, 1960, a mourning day to express its sorrow over the brutal and cowardly attack on peaceful Africans at Sharpeville and other towns of the Union of South Africa, resulting in the massacre of many men, women and children. The meeting which was organised in collaboration with the All India Congress Committee and was presided over by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, M.P., adopted a resolution appealing to the United Nations to take up the matter very urgently and in right earnest and give a helping hand to the injured humanity in that part of the world. The meeting further appealed to the Government of India "to take concrete steps in the direction of full expression of Indian sentiments on these shameful happenings and for getting justice for the millions of Africans."

Mr. Jamna Das of the Kenya Freedom Party addressed the Members of the Council on October 13, 1960. Dr. S. N. Varma presided. Mr. Jamna Das said that a change was taking place in the attitude of the people of Indian origin in Africa. They were now in sympathy with the African cause and supported whole-heartedly their demand for independence.

African Visitors

The Council has had the privilege of welcoming and playing host to several leaders from Africa. These occasions provided opportunities for a get-together between African students living in the capital and Indians. It is hoped that such frequent gatherings will enable more friendly contacts and understanding between Indians and Africans.

On November 19, 1960, a representative of the Council met Dr. Kiano,

Minister of Commerce and Industry, Nairobi, and acquainted him with the activities of the Council. Dr. Kiano described the Council's programme as ambitious and, surely, commendable.

On November 28, 1960, the Council held a reception in honour of Mr. Okeke, Education Minister of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, and Members of the Recruiting Commission from that area. A large gathering, including a number of African students in Delhi, was present. Mr. Okeke speaking at the reception said that he was happy to observe that India was the one country where Indian and African students were getting on well. He gave an account of the various steps being taken by his Government to improve educational facilities for his people.

The Council had the privilege of inviting as its guests in February, 1961, three South African leaders now in exile—Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. T. Makwane and Mr. V. M. Make. It also had as its guest Mr. D. K. Chisiza, General Secretary, Malawi National Congress, Nayasaland, on whose behalf it later on published a book entitled "Africa : What Lies Ahead."

The Council had also the happy privilege of playing host to Mr. Tom Mboya, Secretary-General, Kenya African National Union, when he visited this country recently. At a reception organised in his honour, Mr. Tom Mboya expressed the hope that "by the middle of March we will be ready to discuss a new constitution for our country with the United Kingdom and that will have to be nothing short of independence for Kenya." He said that fears of victimization against members of the emigrant community were baseless. He also hoped that in 1961 African unity would be forged much faster than in 1960. He announced that his party was preparing a programme for sending Kenya students to India to study India's development projects and hoped that the Indian Council for Africa and other similar organisations would raise funds to enable African students to be sent to India.

Seminar on Africa

The Council organised a seminar on emergent Africa on 17th, 18th and 19th February, 1961, with a view to focus attention of the Indian people on the problems of the African Continent. The seminar was inaugurated by Prime Minister Nehru. A number of prominent persons, including Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, the Union Defence Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, the Union Law Minister, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, former Congress President, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Mr. P. S. Joshi, Mr. A. D. Gorwala and Dr. U. R. Ehrenfels, took active part in it.

Three papers were read at the seminar, one on "Multi-racial Society" by Dr. S. N. Verma, another on "South Africa" by Dr. A. K. Dutta and the third one on "Algeria" by Mr. Dinesh Singh, M.P. One session of the seminar was also devoted to the study of problems of "Emergent Africa."

Diplomatic representatives of various African countries attended the seminar. Some of them participated in seminar's proceedings as well. Among them were H. E. Ahmed Hassan El Feki, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic, H. E. Dr. Ahmed Benabud, Ambassador of Morocco, H. E. Sayed Abdel Karim Mirghani, Ambassador of Sudan, H. E. Nana Kwabena Kena II, High Commissioner of Ghana. The seminar was also addressed by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. T. Makiwane, Mr. V. M. Make and Mr. D. K. Chisiza. Mr. Cherif Guellal addressed the seminar on behalf of the Free Algerian Government.

Some important speeches delivered at the seminar are included in this issue of the journal. Some more will be published in later issues.

Delegation to the Third All-African Peoples Conference

Two members of the Council, Mr. Dinesh Singh, M.P., and Mr. S. A. Mehdi, M.P., attended the Third All-African Peoples Conference held in Cairo on March 25, 1961. Fuller account of this shall come out in a later issue.

Library

The Council has been building up a library for the benefit of all those interested in the study of African affairs. A few selected books have already been acquired. The Council has also been getting a number of journals and much other useful reading material from different Embassies and various African Governments. Some publishers, both in India and abroad, have also been sending their review copies. The Council is grateful to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for its contribution towards the building up of this library.

Accommodation

The Council procured its present premises in Curzon Road barracks in 1958. But with the rapid expansion of its activities and the building up of its library, the Council has found this accommodation inadequate. There is need of a bigger building. The Council is negotiating with the Delhi Development Authority for allotment of a plot of land for construction of the Council's own building. It is hoped that the Development Authority and the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply will appreciate the Council's needs and allot it a suitable plot of land.

Scholarships

The council proposes to grant scholarships to students from Africa to come for studies to India. It is proposed to give scholarships not only for academic studies, but also for technical and vocational training.

Goodwill Delegations

The President of the Council, Mr. Balvantray Mehta, M.P., accompanied by Mr. N. Nathwani, M.P., paid a visit to East Africa and travelled extensively in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar.

SEMINAR ON AFRICA

In February, 1961, the Indian Council for Africa organised a seminar in New Delhi to focus the attention of the world on the problems of emergent Africa. Many distinguished persons, from all walks of life, participated in it. Reproduced below are the abridged versions of some of the speeches made at the seminar.

*Algerian Renaissance and Liberation Movement cannot be suppressed—Dr. Ahmed Benabud**

THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE have resorted to take up arms to defend their rights only after exhausting all conceivable possibilities of arriving at a peaceful and negotiated settlement. The Algerian leaders have on several occasions repeatedly declared their disposition and willingness to enter into honourable negotiations in order to find a peaceful and just solution to the Algerian problem and put an end to war.

There is no denying the fact that the peoples of the under-developed world are going through a period of renaissance and emancipation, and are working to achieve their liberation. The Algerians are one of those peoples. The ruthless war that France is waging in Algeria cannot suppress this wave of renaissance and liberation.

During the past few years, the different French Governments have endeavoured to arrive at a solution of the Algerian problem. They have proposed different kinds of solutions such as the Loi Cadre, the Guy Mollet Formula, and finally the peace of the Braves and the self-determination offer of General de Gaulle. The Algerian Provisional Government, the sole and true representative of the Algerian people, has accepted the last offer of self-determination, but has demanded that the expression of the will of the Algerian people should be guaranteed by the United Nations.

General de Gaulle is at present contemplating to set up provisional institutions with the assumption that they may eventually become permanent or lead to the regrouping of populations or even partition. But this proposition has been rejected by the Algerian people because it is impracticable and cannot work successfully. It will rather contribute to more bloodshed, explosions and further deterioration in the present situation.

As far as the rights of the French Colonies are concerned, the Algerian Provisional Government has repeatedly declared that their rights will be preserved and that they could live in complete equality with the rest of the Algerian people.

*Ambassador of Morocco in India.

The colonial powers should now realise that the times have changed and it is not possible any more to dominate people by force and to exploit their rights and riches. They should not consider the wave of independence and liberation as an inimical, destructive and hostile wave directed against them. On the contrary, they should realise that it is an irreversible, constructive wave of progress and emancipation. They should, in fact, help the under-developed countries to stand freely on their feet and extend them all possible moral, material and economic help so that they can build a strong and healthy society.

It is only through this mutually beneficial co-operation between the developed and under-developed countries that peace and security could be established in the world. What is all the more important is that the under-developed countries should also realise the benefits of co-operation among themselves.

The nations which participated in the Casablanca Conference have given a new impetus to the Algerian struggle and other forces representing freedom and emancipation. Morocco, being a member of the Arab Maghreb family, has a special affinity and attachment with Algeria and extends her whole-hearted support and complete solidarity to the Algerian people in their legitimate struggle for national independence.

The Algerian problem has now been internationalised. It has been discussed several times at the U.N. and every year the voting shows that more and more countries are coming forward to express their sympathy with the Algerian people. We are looking forward to other friendly countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, to follow suit and recognise the Provisional Algerian Government. By doing so they will certainly lend moral and material support to Algeria and thus hasten the termination of war and the promotion of peace and stability in the world at large.

It is indeed gratifying to observe that there is enormous sympathy in India for the Algerian cause. It is my firm belief that India with all its prestige and influence in world assemblies and international affairs can certainly contribute substantially towards an early, equitable and just solution of the Algerian tangle.

Application of Principles of Democracy only way to solve Algerian Problem—Cherif Guellal

Today we meet to discuss the problems pertaining to political developments in Africa in a setting of some important events—some of them ominous for Africa, for the U.N. and the world at large. There has been the odious assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and his two companions, which should serve as an eye-opener to all those who still nourish illusions about the true nature of Western imperialism. Then there has been the bandit action of the French Air Force with regard to the Soviet aircraft carrying the President of

* Mr. Cherif Guellal participated in the seminar on behalf of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

the Superme Soviet, Mr Brazhnev. This action reminds us of the 1956 kidnapping of four of Algerian leaders and also of the danger which French imperialism constitutes to world peace. These two events have a vital bearing on the situation prevailing in Algeria today.

The Algerians recognise that the presence of European settlers—there are about 8,00,000 Europeans of French, Italian, Spanish and Greek origin in Algeria—is considered as the main obstacle in the way of Algerian Freedom. This is not a peculiar thing in the case of Algeria alone. Similar is the case with Kenya, Nyasaland and South Africa. In all these countries, the European minorities have been claiming by virtue of their race, some sort of God-given right to rule for ever over great majorities of people. The European minority in Algeria has been claiming that the granting of equal rights to non-Europeans would lead to racial domination by the latter. To these minority settlers, a solution that does not do "justice" to them seems impossible. Justice, they say, must be done irrespective of whether it means that injustice continues to be done to the remaining 93 per cent of the Algerian population of nearly 11 million.

In actual fact, the slogans of partnership, multi-racialism or Algerian Algeria are nothing but attempts, disparate and pathetic, to cover up the perpetuation of the political system of exploitation. The fear of the ruling minority in Algeria, as also in various other African countries, is nothing but the fear of what might happen to its economic, political, social and intellectual hegemony, if it concedes the principle of one man one vote to non-Europeans.

The position of Algerians on this is very clear. They have repeatedly put forward for the consideration of European settlers the proposition of their opting for Algerian citizenship or retaining their status of foreigners. This proposal replies to the wishes of a portion of the European settlers who do not wish to be treated as foreigners in a country they consider their homeland. Some Europeans, unable to rid themselves of their complexes, however, consider the offer of Algerian citizenship as an insult; to become a citizen of the Algerian State is for them a regression, a disgrace. Such a state of mind is ludicrous. It becomes more so when one bears in mind that 60 per cent of the European settlers in Algeria are not of French origin, but former Italians, Maltese and Spaniards who renounced their original nationalities in order to have their share of the cake of colonised Algeria. The Algerian people have declared over and over again that they are ready to define the necessary guarantees and safeguards through negotiations to those Europeans who wish to remain in Algeria while maintaining their original nationalities.

No effective solution of the Algerian problem can be found if political thinking in regard to such a solution starts with the rights of the 7 per cent Europeans. The Algerians have pointed out that the only principle that can make real co-existence between the European

settlers and the Algerians possible and which can bring peace and security in Algeria is the application of the principle of democracy. Any proposals which do not take cognizance of this fundamental principle will not be acceptable to Algerians; such proposals will imply continuing of the master-servant relationship between the European minority and the Algerian majority which the Algerians are determined to eradicate.

The situation in Algeria has also been complicated and worsened by the active participation of the Western Powers in the war in Algeria and the sinister role played by the North Atlantic Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany—in this regard. France has been using freely NATO arms and NATO forces to fight the freedom struggle of Algerians. She has been supplied regularly by her Western allies military, financial and political support; these countries have been doing everything they possibly could do to prevent the adoption of practical measures at the U.N. and elsewhere, that would have led to a peaceful settlement of the Algerians' conflict with France. The Algerians, therefore, consider the denunciation of NATO's role in the Algerian war essential.

The neutral countries can help the cause of Algerians by according recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government. This recognition the Algerians want not from the legal or juridical point of view, but as an acknowledgment of Algeria being a separate entity—politically, ethically and racially—from France.

The world realizes today that the battle that is being fought in Algeria is one that constitutes the greatest single factor which is a threat to world peace in that area. The policy that has been pursued so far by France in regard to Algeria is a discredited policy, running counter to her own national interests. The objective of the Algerian nationalists is to have a referendum under conditions that do not permit any intimidations or pressures. This the French have so far rejected, fearing to put their rule in Algeria to the test of a free vote. The approach of Algerian nationalists has always been a flexible one. They are still willing to explore every reasonable avenue that might lead to an agreement on the issue.

*African Unity will fortify Nations' Sovereignty—
Nana Kwabne Kena**

THE PROBLEMS that confront the people of Africa, as they break away from the bondage, injustices and indignities of colonialism and imperialism, under which they have toiled for so many years, and as they emerge into free and independent nationhood, are problems that cease to be the concern of the African people alone. These are problems

*Ghana's High Commissioner in India.

that cry out to the whole world for a just solution, because we can see to how great an extent the nature of those solutions will affect the future course of mankind's destiny.

What are these problems about which we talk so much? For us they are clear-cut. They range from the need to safeguard the independence that has been won after so much struggle, the danger of potential splitting of the continent, the danger of entangling alliances, and the danger posed by the new concealed forms of colonialism and imperialism, to the need to achieve the economic and social freedom without which our political independence would be meaningless.

Equally fraught with danger are the continued existence of colonialism in parts of Africa and the situation in those areas—in the Union of South Africa, the Central African Federation, and Algeria—where ruling minorities exploit, suppress and deny the enjoyment of democracy to underprivileged majorities.

Of these problems the greatest is that of safeguarding the independence of our countries by taking appropriate action to prevent the balkanisation of the continent.

If Africa continues to be divided, as it is at present, into so many tiny parts, it is not difficult to predict that these small states will fall easy victims to attempts by rival foreign powers to get them entangled in the political, economic and military alliances which today divide the world into two camps opposed to each other. It is not difficult to see that if such a thing happened, as it would, unless something was done about it now, the dire consequence would be that it would be impossible to avert a major world conflagration.

Apart from this dire consequence that would descend on the world at large, such entanglements would promote foreign interests in Africa at the expense of the independent African countries involved, who would ultimately wake up to discover that they had made themselves "sitting ducks" that fell easy prey to the depredation of the new forces of imperialism.

This danger of a new form of colonialism is not an unwarranted fear that lives only in the imagination. It is real and is manifesting itself in its naked form in the Congo today. It is an unrelenting demon that stops not even at murder to achieve its selfish policy of self-aggrandizement. The murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba by the agents of imperialists is a stab in the heart of all Africa which serves as a portent of our future dangers.

The grief and mourning that today weigh down our hearts and souls can be checked if we in Africa join hands and unite politically and economically and march forward towards our common ideals and the cherished goal of prosperity without stragglers in our midst who would look to East or West because of misguided and selfish ambitions.

Racial discrimination, as practised in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere in Africa, should be checked effectively by the United Nations.

In the case of South Africa, it is high time that economic sanctions were imposed on her by all members of the United Nations because the adoption of several condemnatory resolutions against her apartheid policy has not reformed her.

While Africa must be united politically and rely on her own resources to maintain her integrity and safeguard her independence, it is true that she requires foreign financial and technical co-operation for her economic and social progress.

It is important for the peace of Africa and of the world that whatever foreign aid is received by independent African states should be without such strings and overtones of economic imperialism as make nonsense of their independence and sovereignty.

As far as African states, like the Congo, seething with disturbances and chaos are concerned, the safest thing is that all foreign aid should be channelled through the United Nations.

But speaking about the U. N. at this time, one cannot ignore the irony of the United Nations' role in the Congo where we find Patrice Lumumba and some of his colleagues assassinated because they put their faith in the United Nations and because they refused to allow themselves to be used as stooges and puppets for external interests, as Mr. Tshombe and his henchmen have done.

Now what is happening in Africa today is, in our view, the greatest challenge that modern civilization and modern world has had to face. The greatest problem facing us in Africa today to which a quick solution must be found, is how the newly independent African states could preserve their hard-won independence and sovereignty.

*Economic Take-off is the Real Challenge for Emergent Africa—Clovis Maksoud**

THE PROBLEMS of emergent Africa have been discussed during this seminar from two angles: the anthropological cultural angle and the socio-political angle. So the approach to the problems of emergent Africa from different disciplines requires us also to develop a certain coherent and integrated approach to the problems based on enlightened directives.

What is this organic and coherent approach? This is actually what is termed as the philosophy of existence and the philosophy of history; in the final analysis, it is *how* we look to history that will enable us to clarify the theoretical aspects which guide our line of action in so far as action and theory are inter-related. This inter-relation, however, cannot be correct and well-balanced unless it emanates from how we understand history and the manner we approach it.

We in the undeveloped countries are faced with many problems which characterize every emergent nation and society. These

*Representative of the League of Arab States.

problems are fundamentally institutional, in the sense that history, particularly recent history, has been a dead weight on our take-off. Recent history has been a history of exploitation and therefore to a very large extent the forces that have transformed history into a dead weight have sought to depersonalise our existence. In this respect, we find that many of our movements—social and national—have been deliberately misrepresented throughout the world.

We need to make history because we have to catch up with the highest level of the evolutionary stage as different centuries should not co-exist in one society. While the world is coming closer and closer in every village and town (in Africa and Asia), two separate worlds exist side by side, though one world seems to be emerging throughout. And it is this social structure and this commitment to the philosophy of equality that lay at the roots of our revolutionary movements. It is not equality in the abstract sense. Our nationalism has to seek the equality of our respective nations in Africa and Asia in the world community of nations. We realise that when we achieve the equality of all African and Asian nations with the rest of the world, we are performing a historical function in the sense that we are liberating the dominant colonial nations from their superiority and assuring for them equality with us in the same manner as we achieved our equality with them. In this manner nationalism is not an egocentric philosophy or a closed ideology. Neither it is a racial or a religious concept. It is a liberating force for us and for those who seek to negate our freedom.

Besides, we are also in a period of economic take-off, and we have to lay down the foundations of a progressive and modern society and it is here where the basic challenge for the emergent African nations and all Asian nations is presented. The take-off period means a period of mobilising the population and the political forces within the nation. It means to a very large extent a modification and not a negation of the traditional and Western liberal institutions of democracy. These modifications are not necessarily an attempt to seek out a diametrically opposed alternative, but to provide through accommodating the benefits of technology and industrialisation and growing society, the possibility of active popular participation in the political lines of the nation and society. In emergent nations, it is not sufficient to have complete political participation if it means the continuity of economic and social exploitation and irregularity. The two are inter-linked and the two cannot be separated. And it is from here that various attitudes and institutions develop. So emergent Africa and emergent Asia remain politically and ideologically greatly sceptical despite claims to the contrary in their commitments. Scepticism in this respect, however, is the height of rationalism in order to enable further commitments, ultimately more profound and more consistent.

Emergent Africa can learn a great deal from the experience of Asia and particularly that of India.

THE MONCKTON COMMISSION'S REPORT

In July, 1959, the U.K. Government appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Viscount Monckton of Brenchley, to tender advice on the future of a federal constitution for the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, in preparation for the Review Conference to be held in 1960. The Commission's report has provoked a controversy. Reproduced below are important extracts from this report and the main conclusions and recommendations contained in it.

THE QUESTION OF SECESSION

A constant complaint of Africans in the Northern Territories has been that Federation was imposed not only without full consultation with the majority of the inhabitants but against their wishes, and we were all too often met with the cry of "secession," particularly in Nyasaland. It has also frequently been questioned whether the individual Territories have or should have a legal right to secede. This has been the subject of much discussion and some misunderstanding.

The Legal Position

288. We therefore think it is desirable briefly to state our view of the position in constitutional law.

- (a) The origin of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is unusual. Such an association normally arises when a number of states have agreed upon a measure of delegation of their powers to a central government, and may thus be regarded as having a contractual basis. This Federation cannot be so regarded, since it was created by the sovereign power of the United Kingdom exercised, in the case of the Northern Territories, as protectorates, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, and in the case of Southern Rhodesia, as a colony, under the inherent power of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for any part of Her Majesty's dominions.
- (b) The Federation was established and its constitution was defined by an Order in Council made by Her Majesty under the authority of an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament (the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act, 1953),* section 1 (2) of which expressly reserves the right of Parliament to revoke or amend the Order in Council. Thus Her Majesty's Government retain unfettered power to make provision for the future of the Federation in any manner they may think fit.

*1 & 2 Eliz. 2.

- (c) The present Constitution does not confer on any of the Territorial Legislatures any right, express or implied, to secede from the Federation.
- (d) The attainment of responsible government by any one of the Territories does not import any such right.
- (e) In these circumstances there is no legal right on the part of any Territory to secede from the Federation. To create a right of secession an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament would be required.
- (f) It is provided by Article 99 that the Constitution shall be reviewed at a Conference to be convened not less than seven nor more than nine years from the date of its coming into force. This is an unprecedented provision in a federal constitution, as far as can be ascertained, and there can be no legal justification for excluding from consideration at the Review Conference any part of the Constitution, including Article 1 which provides that the Federation shall consist of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After the review, therefore, it must be for Her Majesty's Government to decide what is to be the future of the Federation and to put its proposals before Parliament as to whether, and if so in what respects, the Constitution of the Federation should be amended or changed.

Possible Courses of Action

- 289. The following courses are open to Her Majesty's Government:—
 - (i) The matter could be left entirely open, in which event the power of the United Kingdom Parliament to allow or refuse secession would remain unaffected.
 - (ii) A new or amended Constitution could contain a provision expressly negativing secession.
 - (iii) A new or amended Constitution could provide, either expressly or by necessary implication, that a right of secession should in certain circumstances accrue to each Territory.
 - (iv) As an alternative to (ii) or (iii), instead of granting or prohibiting any specific right of secession in the body of the Constitution, Her Majesty's Government could state their intentions in a Declaration before the new or amended Constitution was promulgated, and the substance of the Declaration could be recited in the Preamble.

- 290. There is nothing in the constitutional theory of this matter which makes a right of secession incompatible with the federal concept. It is said by some writers that the existence of such a right is difficult to reconcile with good or strong federal government, but the expediency of a provision for secession in any particular case must depend upon the circumstances which led to federation. Given proper safeguards for

determining the desires of the inhabitants of a territory contemplating secession and for preserving the interests of the remainder of the federation (for instance, in the maintenance of services which ought obviously to be jointly operated, or in financial or customs matters), a right of secession may provide a valuable safety valve. It is not difficult to envisage political and economic circumstances in which the mere legal tie without any formal right of secession would be insufficient to prevent armed rebellion with the object of breaking away. It is no more difficult to contemplate circumstances in a developing community in which the existence of a right to secede would, far from weakening a federation, enable it to survive. As a leading authority observes in his discussion of the subject, "There are cases where to grant the right to secede is to ensure that states will never exercise it."*

291. The Preamble to the Federal Constitution cannot be interpreted as imposing any legal limitation on the power of the United Kingdom Government in respect of secession. But it clearly indicates the intention of the United Kingdom Parliament that the inhabitants should have the opportunity of deciding at the appropriate time whether the Federation should proceed to full membership of the Commonwealth, that is complete "Statute of Westminster" status, after which the Federal Government might be able to insist on the indissolubility of the Federation. It might also be read as a political declaration implying that the Territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would, on attaining self-government, have a right to decide whether to remain in the Federation or not.

Secession and the Review Conference

292. We are required to give our advice to the five Governments in preparation for the 1960 Review.

293. In the declaration regarding the Review Conference annexed to the Joint Announcement by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation made on 27th April, 1957, this statement appears:

"Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have already made it clear that they are opposed to any proposal either for the amalgamation into a Unitary State of the territories now composing the Federation or for the secession of any of those territories from the Federation."

294. As already pointed out, under the present Federal Constitution no question can arise of any legal right of secession; this would require a further Act of the United Kingdom Parliament. But in view of the provisions of Article 99 of the Constitution it is impossible to exclude the subject from consideration at the Review [see paragraph 288 (f)]. The

*See Wheare, "Federal Government," 3rd Edition, pages 90-92.

Secretary of State for the Colonies* has stated that African opinion will be represented at the Review Conference; and it is inevitable that the question of secession will arise for discussion there. Further, the political situation has changed greatly since the Joint Announcement was made, and the opposition to Federation has hardened. The outstanding consideration is the existence of an unfettered right in the United Kingdom Parliament to control the future destinies of the Territories, and its consequent responsibility for considering and giving effect to the views of the inhabitants. Because of the importance of the question of secession in the minds of many Africans, we think it should be made clear before the Conference that this subject will in fact be discussed there. This would no doubt affect the attitude of Africans towards the Conference.

295. In these circumstances we should be failing in our duty if we did not deal with the question of secession in this Report. Before doing this, however, we wish to re-affirm the views already expressed in Chapters 4 and 5. For the reasons stated there, we have no doubt that the continued association of the three Territories is of vital importance to their inhabitants and we regard with great concern the possibility of a break up of the Federation. Far from encouraging this we seek to secure the greatest possible measure of support for a new form of federal association; and we believe that, if the problem of secession is faced with courage and imagination on the lines suggested in this chapter, the chances of success after a further period of trial will be greatly increased.

296. We have carefully considered the possible courses of action outlined in paragraph 289. If the question of secession were left entirely at large after the Review, we are convinced that political controversy would become acute, and this would play into the hands of the extremists. We can see no advantage in this course and we therefore reject it.

297. If Her Majesty's Government were to declare the Federation indissoluble as in the case of the Commonwealth of Australia, this might remove uncertainty and promote external confidence, assuming that internal stability could also be maintained. No such assumption is justified. On the contrary this course would be seen again to involve the imposition of Federation—this time as a permanency—without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants. In the prevailing atmosphere in the Northern Territories we believe that such a declaration would give rise immediately to serious political disturbance which would soon destroy any external confidence created by the declaration itself. We cannot, therefore, recommend this course.

298. On the other hand, we consider that a declaration of the intention of Her Majesty's Government to permit secession by any of the Territories, if so requested after a stated time or at a particular stage of constitutional development, would have a very favourable effect and might be decisive in securing a fair trial for the new association. In the Northern Territories we have no doubt that such a declaration would ease the political tension

* Hansard, House of Commons, Vol. 623, No. 109, col. 202.

greatly. In Southern Rhodesia many Europeans, although strongly favouring the continuance of the Federation, fear that if African Governments come into power in the North it may in the future become impossible to maintain the association. We believe that those holding such views would welcome a contingent right of secession as a real safeguard.

299. We believe that such a declaration would encourage those of moderate views among all races and would stimulate the growth of multi-racial political parties. It is inevitable that uncertainty would prevail during the intervening period and we recognise that this would affect external confidence; but neither of the courses discussed in paragraphs 296 and 297 is free from this objection.

300. We have reached the conclusion that Her Majesty's Government should make a declaration of intention to consider a request from the Government of a Territory to secede from the Federation. It therefore becomes necessary to consider the time at which such a request should be permitted, and whether any conditions should be attached.

301. The time at which Her Majesty's Government might consider a request from a Territory to secede could either be related to the attainment of a certain stage of constitutional advance in the Territory itself, or based on a particular period of years from the inception of the new Federal Constitution. The main argument for relating the time to a stage of constitutional advance is that the request for secession by a Government could thereby be linked to an expression of the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory made through proper constitutional machinery. On the other hand, since Territories might reach the required stage of constitutional advance at different times, this method might involve difficult questions as to the relation of one Territory's right to request secession to that of the other Territories. The main argument for stipulating a number of years from the inception of the new Constitution is not, however, that it would avoid such difficult questions, but that it would give a degree of certainty in the matter and thereby serve to remove agitation.

302. On the basis of a fixed period of years, it would be necessary to decide the precise period. Some of us think that a reasonable period would be seven years. This period is based on the assumption that it might take between four and five years from now for the Northern Territories to reach the stage of responsible government, and that thereafter it would be reasonable for those Governments to enjoy responsibility and gain experience before reaching a decision whether or not to make a request to secede from the Federation. Others, however, consider that feelings on this subject in the Federation are such that it would not be possible to prescribe a period of more than five years; such a period would, for example, take account of the wishes both of Chiefs and Native Authorities to remain under British protection, and also of political parties to reach the stage of responsible government, coupled with a right to secede, as soon as possible. Others, again, consider that a rather longer period than seven years should be laid down.

303. If, on the other hand, the timing of a request to secede were linked to a stage of constitutional advance in a Territory, we think that the stage at which it would be reasonable to permit a Territory the right to request secession would be when it attains self-government. For this purpose we use the expression "self-government" to describe the position reached when the final stage of progress to responsible government has been attained through the disappearance of civil service Ministers, and through Ministers ceasing to be responsible to the Governor and becoming responsible to a Legislature answerable to the electorate.

304. A seceding Territory ought clearly to inherit certain obligations arising from its membership of the Federation. Since 1953, many millions of pounds have been borrowed for development purposes on the credit of the Federation, and on more favourable terms than could have been obtained by any one of the Territories borrowing on its own account. It is right and proper in these circumstances that a seceding Territory should accept responsibility for its share of the public debt of the Federal Government, and we think that this could be a condition of any arrangement for secession. No doubt, however, Her Majesty's Government would take into account the financial ability of the Territory to meet this condition in full when considering the Territory's need for financial assistance at that time.

305. We also think that in the event of any Territory seceding from the Federation it would be advantageous to all three Territories if, for a number of years, a form of customs union was preserved between them. The industrial development which has occurred, and which we hope will be maintained, has been designed to cater for a market which covers the entire Federation. If this market should be broken up by the erection of tariff barriers within the present Federal area, considerable and unnecessary injury would be inflicted upon many enterprises and their employees, and new industrial development would be impeded by this prospect.

306. We considered the question of making it a condition of secession that a customs union should be preserved for a period of, say, ten years. We found it very difficult to see how this requirement could be imposed as a positive condition, but we nevertheless think it important that a customs union should be maintained under conditions which the seceding Territory could freely accept without damage to its status.

307. Secession under the second of our alternative proposals (see paragraph 310) could take place either before or after the seceding Territory had obtained self-government. If before, we do not doubt that Her Majesty's Government, in the exercise of its authority as the protecting power, would prevent the erection of internal tariff barriers. If after, the position would be less simple. But we expect that any seceding Territory would be anxious to obtain financial support from the United Kingdom even if that only meant access to capital markets. In these circumstances we think it would not be unreasonable for Her Majesty's Government to request the seceding Territory to enter into an undertaking to

participate in a customs union for at least a number of years.

308. We consider that the right to request secession should not remain open indefinitely and that it would be reasonable to set a time limit for its exercise. We provide for this in our specific proposals in paragraph 310.

309. We also considered whether some special constitutional procedure should be laid down to provide the necessary evidence within a Territory of the genuine wish of the majority of its inhabitants to secede from the Federation. For example, there might be provision for a special vote of the Legislature, followed by a referendum, perhaps requiring a sixty per cent majority. Since however it is impossible to foresee the exact conditions which would prevail at the time and also because the entire legal responsibility in this matter rests with Her Majesty's Government, the majority of us have concluded that it would be better to provide that the manner in which the wishes of the inhabitants would be ascertained should be determined entirely by Her Majesty's Government at the time. We have no doubt that Her Majesty's Government would impose strict conditions to ensure that the genuine wishes of the inhabitants were fully ascertained, and that the issues were fully explained in an atmosphere free from intimidation. Some of us consider that the manner in which the wishes of the inhabitants are ascertained should be set out in the Constitution or in its Preamble.

310. With these considerations in mind, we put forward two alternative formulae which Her Majesty's Government might use as a basis for a declaration about secession. It would be for the Review Conference to advise Her Majesty's Government which should be adopted.

(a) The first formula is as follows :

"After a Territory has attained self-government (as defined in paragraph 303), if the Government of that Territory so requests, Her Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps to ascertain, in such manner as Her Majesty's Government shall then determine, the wishes of the inhabitants of that Territory on the question whether they shall remain within the Federation, and will proceed to give effect to those wishes. The right to make the request shall not, however, be exercised later than twelve months after all the Territories have attained self-government. Meanwhile, nothing will be done in the Northern Territories to diminish their Protectorate status. The possibility that a Territory may make use of its right to request secession is not a consideration which will be taken into account in determining the rate of that Territory's advance towards self-government."

(b) The alternative formula, based on a stipulated number of years, would be :

"When (a stated number of)* years have passed from the time

* See paragraph 302.

of the coming into effect of the new Federal Constitution, if the Government of any Territory so requests within twelve months, Her Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps to ascertain in such manner as Her Majesty's Government shall then determine, the wishes of the inhabitants of that Territory on the question whether they wish to remain within the Federation, and will give effect to those wishes before the protection of Her Majesty's Government over the Northern Territories is withdrawn and before the Federation attains fully independent status."

311. Both these formulae give to Her Majesty's Government, and not to the Government of the Territory concerned, or that of the Federation, the right to decide how the wishes of the inhabitants at the time should be ascertained. We consider this necessary so that it should not be left to one section of the community to determine the question whether or not the Territory should secede. By the term "the inhabitants," we do not mean merely those inhabitants who happen to be qualified for the Territorial franchise at the time when their wishes are to be ascertained.

312. Both formulae are designed to remove any doubts or misconception as to the willingness of Her Majesty's Government to continue to afford protection to the Northern Territories until such time as the wishes of their inhabitants with regard to their future are clear. The first also makes it clear that Her Majesty's Government would not permit considerations relating to the request of a Territory to secede from the Federation to affect their views on the pace at which constitutional advances in that Territory should be granted. The second formula, which is based on a fixed number of years, would operate independently of the timing of a Territory's advance towards self-government, and its adoption could not give rise to any suspicion that secession was a consideration which might affect Her Majesty's Government's judgment in regard to a Territory's readiness for self-government.

313. When the actual time arrived for considering a Territory's request to secede, Her Majesty's Government would have to decide how best to ensure the smooth transition of that Territory to a position of independence from the Federation. The creditworthiness of the remaining members of the Federation as well as of the seceding Territory should be preserved. Arrangements for the apportionment of assets and liabilities, for the assignment and control of the defence forces and for many other matters would also have to be considered.

314. If a declaration of intention were made by Her Majesty's Government in terms of either of the formulae, we consider it would be neither appropriate nor necessary for it to be embodied in the new Constitution, but we recommend that the Preamble should be amended to include an appropriate reference to it. We attach importance to this, since it would lend added authority to the declaration and since, if the Preamble as well

as the Constitution were silent upon the matter, the declaration might not come as readily to public attention.

315. No doubt from some points of view it would be preferable that the Federation should be declared indissoluble. We have, however, shown why we cannot recommend such a course. It might in the last resort involve keeping the Federation together by force. We hope therefore that if a right to request secession is recognised by the United Kingdom, the Territorial and Federal Governments will make every effort to render the Federal association acceptable to their peoples.

Accession of Other Territories

316. We recommend that a provision be inserted in the Constitution permitting the accession of other territories. Such a provision exists in several Commonwealth constitutions.

PROGRAMME OF CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCES

337. In our terms of reference we were instructed to advise the five Governments in preparation for the 1960 Review on the constitutional programme and framework best suited to the achievement of the objects contained in the Constitution of 1953, including the Preamble. In the course of the foregoing chapters we have set out the constitutional changes which we hope, if adopted, will enable the Federal association to continue. We have pointed out in Chapter 5 that, taken separately, none of the reforms we suggest would suffice to put matters right, and we have urged that our recommendations should be seen and considered as a whole.

338. The many far-reaching reforms we have recommended cannot be put into effect by a stroke of the pen. It is, however, implicit in our recommendations that, in order to ensure the continuance of the Federal association, the carrying out of our recommendations should not be delayed. Certain important processes are involved : the amendment of the Federal Constitution; the election of a new Federal Assembly; the passing of a new Federal franchise law following the recommendations of the proposed franchise committee; the amendment of the Territorial Constitutions to incorporate a Bill of Rights and to establish Councils of State; the assumption of new functions by the Territorial Governments. All these processes must be closely co-ordinated in order to produce the new recommended pattern at the earliest date. Nevertheless, this will take time. We therefore recommend that a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, and such constitutional changes as may be desirable in Southern Rhodesia, should be negotiated and put into effect without awaiting the full revision of the Federal structure.

339. Looking to the future, we believe that in terms of the Preamble to the 1953 Constitution, the Federation can only go ahead to its final goal of full independence within the Commonwealth at the stage when all three

Territories have achieved full self-government in the Territorial sphere. The period in which this might happen is related to our recommendations on the question of secession. If Her Majesty's Government decide to make a declaration of intention to entertain requests for secession from all three Territories when a fixed period of years has elapsed from the inception of the new Constitution, the same period might be adopted as the minimum to be allowed to elapse before all three Territories can be granted full self-government. If, on the other hand, the right of a Territory to request secession is linked to its attainment of self-government, it might be agreed that when all three Territories have reached that stage, and have decided not to request secession, Her Majesty's Government would at that time consider granting to the Federation independent status within the Commonwealth.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

340. Federation cannot, in our view, be maintained in its present form. On the other hand, to break it up at this crucial moment in the history of Africa would be an admission that there is no hope of survival for any multi-racial society on the African continent and that differences of colour and race are irreconcilable. We cannot agree to such a conclusion. In Chapter 5 we express the view that while the Federation cannot continue unless it commands general acceptance, a dissolution would lead to hardship, poverty and distress. We have considered and rejected three alternative forms of association, and state our view that the three Territories could best go forward if they remained linked in a Federal association, but that it is too much disliked to survive in its present shape.

341. The following is a summary of our main conclusions and recommendations. We urge that they should be considered as a whole.

The Federal Legislature and Franchise

(1) Two of us make proposals in regard to the composition of the Federal Legislature and the franchise which are in most respects at variance with all other members.

(2) If some form of federal association is to continue, Africans must in the immediate future have a much higher proportion of the seats in the Federal Assembly.

(3) The franchise should remain qualitative, and there should be no devalued or weighted votes; it should be broadened to bring a larger number of Africans on to the voters' roll; it should include Africans with experience and judgment, even if without education or income qualifications; and it should be designed to secure the election of a Federal Assembly representative of the broad mass of both African and European opinion.

(4) The Federal Assembly should not be reduced below its present size.

(5) We have not been able to reach agreement on the principles which should govern the proportion of seats as between Africans and Europeans. We therefore set out, with arguments, several possible courses—

(i) Some of us favour the traditional policy of staged development.

A possible next stage would be an arrangement whereby some members are elected on communal rolls and others on a common roll. There would be three categories of seats. Taking, for example, an Assembly of sixty members with twenty seats in each category, twenty members would be elected on a communal roll of Europeans, and twenty on a communal roll of Africans, both on a low franchise. The remaining twenty would be elected on a common roll, on a franchise based on the principles stated in (3) above. Alternatively, the balancing element on the common roll might be ten seats, with two sets of twenty-five communal seats.

(ii) A smaller number of us believe that the enormous majority of Africans in the population calls for an African majority in Parliament.

(iii) The majority of us consider that the only basis for the division which is fair both to Europeans and Africans, and the one which has the best chance of securing acquiescence by a substantial number of people in both the two principal communities, is parity between them, secured by reserving an equal number of seats for Europeans and Africans.

(iv) Some of us, while supporting parity as an aim, feel that there should be a gradual approach to it, and that at this stage no definite recommendations should be made as to the timing of its introduction, although it should not be delayed longer than necessary. But the largest group of us think that it should be introduced now.

(6) All members should be elected on a common roll. But measures will have to be taken to ensure that they are sufficiently representative of their own racial community. This might be done through primary elections on communal rolls. If, however, the Governments cannot agree on a method of election using a common roll, it might be preferable for them to declare the common roll as an objective, and to consider whether arrangements should be made, as a last resort and as a purely interim measure, to hold elections on communal rolls.

(7) Electoral divisions would have to be delimited separately for each of the two main racial groups. The choice between two possible methods would have to be examined carefully on the spot.

(8) We think that the Assembly should consist of sixty voting members and a Speaker. As to the distribution of seats between the Territories, there should be ten Africans from each. European seats could be distributed in various ways, but most of us suggest seventeen for Southern

Rhodesia, ten for Northern Rhodesia, and three for Nyasaland.

(9) The Speaker should be appointed from outside the Federal Assembly. Alternatively, if it were decided to select him from within the Assembly, he should vacate his seat, which would be filled by a bye-election.

(10) The majority of us consider that a committee should be appointed to make recommendations as to the details of the franchise, and that the Review Conference should consider the composition of such a committee. Most members of this majority consider that this franchise committee should be given additional guidance on broad requirements. Some of us believe that the Review Conference could settle the terms of the franchise without the need for a special franchise committee.

(11) We also make recommendations on the basic qualifications for the vote. We see no need for a basic literacy test for persons otherwise qualified.

(12) The franchise committee should also consider whether the Federal franchise qualifications should vary from Territory to Territory, bearing in mind that the more voters on the Territorial roll who are dis-qualified from voting in Federal elections, the more difficult it will be to obtain African support for Federation.

(13) Most of us recommend that the Asian community should be represented in the Assembly by one non-voting member. The franchise committee should consider in what way he should be chosen.

(14) It should be made possible for individual members of the Coloured community to decide for themselves whether they wish to be regarded as Africans or Europeans for the purpose of standing for election and, if communal rolls are adopted, being registered as voters.

The Territorial Constitutions

(15) Her Majesty's Government should declare as soon as possible that further constitutional advance towards full self-government will be made in the near future in Northern Rhodesia.

(16) A Conference similar to that held recently on the Nyasaland Constitution, and similarly representative of all the main political and racial groups, should be held without delay to work out the nature and timing of the necessary changes.

(17) Most of us recommend that there should be in Northern Rhodesia an African majority in the Legislature, and an unofficial majority in the Executive Council, so constituted as to reflect the composition of the Legislative Council. Some of us consider that the time has not yet come for an African majority in the Legislative Council. Others think that there should be an African majority in the Executive Council as well as in the Legislative Council.

(18) If the franchise is not lowered sufficiently to bring a reasonable number on to the voters' roll in any particular area, consideration should

be given to reserving special seats for the tribal authorities in those areas, or to electing persons under some system whereby the tribal authorities would form electoral colleges.

(19) It is important that nothing should be done to diminish the traditional respect in which Chiefs are usually held by their communities. All possible steps should be taken to stamp out the intimidation which, apart from its other effects, is undermining the authority and status of the Chiefs.

(20) Barotseland enjoys a special position. Its future status and its relationship with the Federation and with Northern Rhodesia require further detailed examination and negotiations between the Paramount Chief and the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Federation and Northern Rhodesia.

Allocation of Functions Between Governments

(21) The basic principles which should govern the allocation of functions are—

- (i) Matters affecting the day to day life of the inhabitants should be Territorial subjects.
- (ii) No subject should be divided between the Federal and Territorial Governments on a racial basis.
- (iii) The Federal Government should be responsible for all matters connected with external relations, including trade relations.
- (iv) The Federal Government should enjoy the basic and necessary means to regulate the economy of the Federal area, and taxation should be regarded as an essential instrument of control of the economy.

(22) To facilitate the transfer of functions from the Territorial to the Federal Governments, and *vice versa*, we suggest the lines on which Article 32 of the Constitution should be revised.

(23) Extra costs arising from transfer of staff should lie with the Government which assumes permanent responsibility for a reallocated function.

(24) Non-African education, all roads and prisons should become Territorial subjects (*Part B*). The majority of us recommend that health and non-African agriculture should also become Territorial subjects. But some of us have reservations in regard to health. Some of us consider that non-African agriculture in Northern and Southern Rhodesia should remain Federal.

(25) The definition of marketing should be altered.

(26) The Loan Council which at present controls all external public capital issues should in future also control all internal public capital issues.

(27) A number of other proposed changes in allocation of functions, or definitions, are set out in Part C of Chapter 8 and Appendix IV.

Powers Of Taxation And Fiscal Arrangements

(28) Revenue can be divided on a percentage or on an annual grants basis. We have considered the respective merits of the two systems but make no recommendation as to which is preferable.

(29) Provision for making additional grants or loans (Article 95 of the Constitution) should remain.

(30) Territorial surcharge on income tax should continue to be leviable, but its upper limit should be expressed as a money sum per £1 of income or profits, not as a percentage of basic tax.

(31) The Territorial Governments should have power to levy a graduated poll tax on a non-racial basis.

(32) On the assumption that one of the two taxation schemes we recommend [see (34) below] is adopted, the Federal Government should have the power to levy sales or purchase tax, the proceeds to be added to the pool of revenue referred to below.

(33) The proceeds of customs and excise, and of the income and profits taxes, should be pooled for division between the Federal and Territorial Governments.

(34) We have considered two alternative schemes of taxation :

Scheme I

| | |
|---|---|
| Customs and Excise Duties ... | ... } The Federal Government to regulate, fix the tariffs and rates, and divide the proceeds between all four Governments in the fixed proportions. |
| Company and Personal Income Tax. | |
| Sales or Purchase Tax ... | |
| Surcharge on Company and Personal Income Tax. | The Federal Government to regulate and collect; the Territorial Governments to fix the rates and enjoy the whole proceeds. |
| Graduated Poll Tax | The Territorial Governments to regulate, collect, fix the rates and enjoy the whole proceeds. |

Scheme II

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Customs and Excise Duties ... | ... } The Federal Government to regulate, fix the tariffs and rates, and divide the proceeds between all four Governments in the fixed proportions. |
| Company Income Tax ... | |
| Sales or Purchase Tax ... | |
| Surcharge on Company Income Tax. | The Federal Government to regulate and collect; the Territorial Govern- |

ments to fix the rates and enjoy the whole proceeds.

Personal Income Tax The Federal Government to regulate and collect; the Territorial Governments to fix the rates and enjoy the whole proceeds.

Graduated Poll Tax The Territorial Governments to regulate, collect, fix the rates and enjoy the whole proceeds.

We leave it to the Review Conference to decide between these two schemes. The majority of us prefer Scheme I.

Machinery of Co-operation Between Governments

(35) The machinery of consultation needs to be strengthened and improved.

(36) To carry out the intention of Article 42 (2) of the Constitution, definite arrangements should be made for holding inter-governmental meetings, at regular and fairly frequent intervals, in turn in Salisbury, Lusaka and Zomba. This will emphasise the co-operative nature of Federation and the important part to be played by each Government.

(37) The Constitution should provide for setting up an advisory Economic Development Council, composed of two Ministers, one of whom would be the Finance Minister, from each Government, to co-ordinate all plans for economic development.

(38) We hope that Ministers and advisers on this Council will include Africans.

(39) The question whether to set up a Tariff Advisory Committee, possibly as a subsidiary to the Economic Development Council, is for consideration by the Economic Development Council itself.

The Removal Of Racial Discrimination And The Development Of Partnership

(40) Racial discrimination, though diminishing, remains one of the more important forces working against Federation. In considering reforms it is important to distinguish discriminatory laws which are desirable from those which are unfairly discriminatory.

(41) Racial discrimination exists in all parts of the Federation, but is more rigid and more comprehensively entrenched in Southern Rhodesia. No form of association between the Territories is likely to succeed unless Southern Rhodesia is willing to make further and drastic changes in its racial policies.

(42) The more important discriminatory laws and practices which

should be removed or amended include the Pass Laws in Southern Rhodesia, discrimination in Local Government in urban areas, in the public services and in industry, and the Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act.

(43) Governments should take the lead in removing, as quickly as possible, particularly in those enterprises over which they have direct control, all the unfairly discriminatory practices which remain, in order not only to eliminate grievances, but to give a positive impetus to the development of partnership.

(44) In the field of social, economic and commercial practice, it is both possible and desirable for Governments to legislate to make unfairly discriminatory practices, except in purely private relationships, illegal.

(45) We hope that Governments will legislate so as to ensure that no person who conducts a trade, profession or business by virtue of some sanction of the state, shall be permitted to admit in the conduct of his business any discriminatory practices on grounds of colour, race or creed.

Safeguards

(46) It is essential to improve the existing safeguards, to devise new ones, and to ensure that their effectiveness continues.

(47) The safeguards should be extended to guarantee individual as well as collective rights.

(48) A Bill of Rights should be included in the Constitution of the Federation.

(49) The Bill of Rights should be drawn up in accordance with the traditions of the English-speaking world, and the current practice of the multi-racial Commonwealth.

(50) The Bill of Rights would be enforced by the courts, with a right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

(51) The Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution should be incorporated, in identical terms, in each of the Territorial Constitutions.

(52) Federal and Territorial Councils of State should be set up, modelled on the Kenya Council of State.

(53) These Councils of State should not be integral parts of any Legislature. Their main task would be to protect persons against the enactment of legislation unfairly discriminatory on grounds of race, colour or creed.

(54) There should be separate Councils of State for the Federation and for each of the three Territories.

(55) Every member of the Federal Council of State should be a member of a Territorial Council of State, and not a member of any Legislature. Members should be selected on grounds of personal eminence, experience and detachment, to act as wise and impartial men and not as representatives of races or Territories.

(56) The Federal Council of State should consist of twelve persons, with an equal number of members from each Territorial Council of State, appointed by the Governor-General and the four Chief Justices of the Federation, who would also choose an independent Chairman having a casting vote only.

(57) While the Northern Territories remain under Her Majesty's Government's protection, each Governor, in consultation with his Chief Justice and with the approval of the Secretary of State, should appoint the members of the Territorial Council of State, which should be composed of not less than six members and an independent Chairman.

(58) Southern Rhodesia should devise its own system of appointing members of its Council of State, but in such a manner as will ensure its independence and freedom from political control; there should be not less than six members and an independent Chairman.

(59) We have been unable to agree about the racial composition of the Councils of State. There are three possible solutions :

- (i) An absolute parity between the European and African communities.
- (ii) A less exclusive parity which would not preclude the appointment of Asians and Coloureds.
- (iii) Appointments made without regard to race.

(60) The functions of the Councils of State should be—

- (a) to consider proposed substantive legislation and, if it is found to be unfairly discriminatory, to report accordingly to the Legislature.
- (b) to consider existing legislation and subsidiary legislation, and, if it is found to be unfairly discriminatory, to report accordingly to the Government and the Legislature.
- (c) to acquaint themselves with any unfairly discriminatory trends and report thereon, without dealing directly with individual complaints.

(61) The Councils of State should not have a power of veto, but only of delay.

(62) The application of their powers to ordinary legislation, money Bills and subsidiary legislation are differentiated.

(63) The Councils of State should have no powers in relation to emergency legislation. The duration of such legislation should be two months, unless the Legislature concerned resolves that it should endure for a further stated period.

(64) While a Territory enjoys Protectorate status, a special procedure should apply. If the Council should make a final adverse report, the Bill would be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

(65) The provisions relating to the Bill of Rights and the Councils of State should be specially entrenched in the Federal and Territorial Constitutions. In the Federal Constitution, amendment of provisions for these safeguards should require (a) the affirmative vote of not less than

three-quarters of all the members of the Assembly, and also (b) a special referendum.

(66) The Bill of Rights and the Councils of State should be regarded as permanent features in the Federal and Territorial Constitutions, and we trust that Her Majesty's Government will ensure that these safeguards, and the manner of their entrenchment, will be retained at the time when a Territory achieves self-government, and if it wishes to secede, at the time of its secession.

(67) Certain other Articles in the Constitution should be more firmly entrenched than in the manner provided in Article 97.

Other Reforms

(68) The administrative capital should remain for the present in Salisbury, but the Federal Legislature should meet in each of the three Territories in turn, the first two meetings after the Review Conference being in Lusaka and Zomba.

(69) If in two or three years' time the removal of racial discrimination has made Salisbury acceptable as a capital to Africans, the above arrangement could be reconsidered. If not, the Governments will have to assess whether the political objections to a Federal capital in Salisbury or its vicinity will not outweigh the administrative and financial disadvantages of moving it elsewhere.

(70) The term "Federation" has in itself become a serious political liability, and the Federal association in its new form must start with a new name.

The Public Services

(71) There is a need to build up, even more quickly than at present, the number of locally recruited civil servants.

(72) The presence in the Federation of civil servants drawn from different sources, serving on different conditions, raises special problems. The Governments should without delay put in hand a comprehensive review, and consider the method of establishing a locally-based service with members of all races.

(73) The Governments should plan joint machinery for recruitment from all sources; and aim at unifying conditions of service under all four Governments to promote flexibility in the transfer of staff between them.

(74) In present circumstances, the expansion of higher and secondary education is more essential than universal primary education on account of the need to provide sufficient local candidates of the required standard for entry to the public services, and in order to redress the present lack of balance between Africans and Europeans in the higher branches of the services.

(75) The Governments should give urgent consideration to setting up special institutions for training civil servants of all races, while continuing to send selected students for training overseas.

Economic Development

(76) There is a vast scope for economic and social development in the whole area. The grave poverty and over-population of Nyasaland pose a special problem, but there are also other areas in which economic development is badly needed. Economic policy should continue to give special weight to developing the poorer areas of the Northern Territories, in order to achieve a more uniform level of development throughout the Federation.

(77) We hope that the United Kingdom Government will consider means of relieving the situation at present caused by the diversion of funds, needed for development in Northern Rhodesia, to meet the shortfall in Nyasaland's current account.

(78) The economic impetus achieved through expenditure on economic projects in the last seven years should not be lost. Reliance cannot be placed solely on aid from international agencies, or on normal grants from the United Kingdom Government. To maintain the impetus the Federal Government must be able to borrow in capital markets sums of the order of £10 million per annum. Because of recent difficulties in the Federation and elsewhere in Africa, this may not be possible.

(79) A majority of us consider that the United Kingdom Government should be willing to provide the Federation, through the machinery of the Loan Council, with Exchequer Loans at the lowest possible rates of interest, to make good so far as possible the shortfall likely to occur in borrowing on the markets. Access to these markets should not disqualify the Federation for consideration for such Exchequer Loans.

The Question of Secession

(80) The question has frequently been raised whether Territories have, or should have, legal right of secession. Our view is that the present Constitution does not confer on any of the Territorial Legislatures any right express or implied to secede from the Federation, and that the attainment of responsible Government does not import any such right. This could only be created by an act of the United Kingdom Parliament. We state four possible courses open to Her Majesty's Government in settling a new or amended Constitution. Nothing in constitutional theory makes a right of secession incompatible with the Federal concept.

(81) It should be made clear before the Review Conference that the question of secession will be discussed there.

(82) Her Majesty's Government should neither leave the question of secession entirely open nor declare the Federation indissoluble.

(83) A declaration of the intention of Her Majesty's Government to permit secession by any of the Territories, if so requested after a stated time or at a particular stage of constitutional development, would have a very favourable effect and might be decisive in securing a fair trial for the new association. Her Majesty's Government should make such a declaration of intention.

(84) The timing of a request for secession should be related to a certain stage of constitutional advance in the Territory concerned, or to a period of years from the inception of the new Federal Constitution. If the former is chosen, we consider that the stage should be the attainment of self-government as defined in paragraph 303.

(85) A seceding Territory should accept responsibility for its share of the public debt of the Federation, and this could be a condition of any arrangement for secession.

(86) We do not see how it could be made a positive condition of secession that a customs union should be preserved for a number of years, but we think it important that a customs union should be maintained under conditions which the seceding Territory could freely accept without damage to its status.

(87) A majority of us consider that no special constitutional procedure should be laid down as to the manner in which the wishes of the inhabitants of a Territory with respect to secession should be ascertained. It should be determined by Her Majesty's Government at the time. Some of us recommend that this procedure should be decided at the Review Conference.

(88) Two alternative formulae as a basis for a declaration of intention by Her Majesty's Government are put forward for consideration by the Review Conference.

(89) Both give to Her Majesty's Government the right to determine how the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory at the time should be ascertained. By "the inhabitants" we do not merely mean those qualified for the Territorial franchise at the time.

(90) Under both formulae it is made clear that Her Majesty's Government would continue to afford protection to the Northern Territories until such time as the wishes of their inhabitants with regard to their future are clear. The first formula also makes it clear that Her Majesty's Government would not permit considerations relating to a request of a Territory to secede to affect their views on the pace at which constitutional advances in that Territory should be granted. The second formula would operate independently of a Territory's advance towards self-government.

(91) The declaration of intention should not be embodied in the new Constitution, but the Preamble should be amended so as to include an appropriate reference to it.

(92) Provision for the accession of other territories should be inserted in the Constitution.

The Elements of Subordination

(93) The application to the Federation of a convention enabling it to determine for itself the Royal Style and Titles would only be appropriate at the time when Federation attains full independence within the Commonwealth.

(94) The Governor-General should not be appointed on the advice of Federal Ministers until the Federation attains full independence within the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, the present arrangements should continue.

(95) The right of appeal by special leave to the Privy Council should be entrenched. Even when the Federation attains full independence within the Commonwealth there is no reason why this right should not continue to exist.

(96) Effect should now be given, by Act of the United Kingdom Parliament, to Her Majesty's Government's agreement of 1957 to give the Federal Government power to legislate with extra-territorial effect.

(97) We recommend no change as regards the powers of the Federal Government to conduct such of its external affairs as may be entrusted to it by Her Majesty's Government.

(98) Provided that our recommendations relating to safeguards are accepted and entrenched in the Constitution, the Governor-General should no longer be required to reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure any Bill within the competence of the Federal Legislature; but, as an interim measure, he should still be required to reserve any Bill relating to the amendment of the Constitution itself.

(99) Most of us consider that, provided our recommendations as to safeguards are accepted and entrenched, the power of disallowance of laws should be removed from the Federal Constitution.

(100) The right of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for the Federation, and the application of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, must be retained in order to provide for the future constitutional development of the Federation.

Programme of Constitutional Advances

(101) The legislative and administrative processes involved in carrying out the reforms which we have recommended must take time, but these should not be delayed.

(102) A new constitution for Northern Rhodesia, and such constitutional changes as may be desirable in Southern Rhodesia, should be negotiated and put into effect without awaiting the full revision of the Federal structure.

(103) The Federation can only attain full independence within the Commonwealth at the stage when all three Territories have attained self-government in the Territorial sphere. The period in which that might occur can be related to our alternative recommendations regarding secession.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Asians of East Africa : By L. W. Hollingsworth (Macmillan & Co., London, 1960, Pp. 174).

The author of this excellent short monograph was for ten years Principal of the Government Secondary School, Zanzibar, and has spent nearly a quarter of a century in East Africa. He can, therefore, write from personal knowledge. He has also studied extensively on the subject of the Asian community and its role in East Africa. The Asian community includes both Indians and Pakistanis (the latter were called "Indians" before the partition of India in 1947) and constitutes about 1 per cent of the total population of East Africa. The social and economic importance of this community, however, is far greater than its numerical strength. The book, dealing as it does with Asians who are playing so important a role in that part of Africa which is increasingly drawing world's attention, would be read with great interest in many countries.

The study traces the history of the Asian community from its earliest arrival in Africa until the present day. *The Peripus of the Erythraean Sea*, written in 60 A. D., makes the first historical reference to India's trade connections with East Africa. Marco Polo's account in the 13th century and Vasco da Gama's at the end of the 15th century bear ample testimony to this trade link. There is a chapter on the Indian activity under Seyyid Said and his successors in the 19th century. There are chapters on such diverse subjects as the "Indian Troops in East Africa" (in which the author shows the important role played by them in the conquest and pacification of East Africa), "Indian Education" and "Hindus and Muslims in East Africa." The author puts his finger on the communal and sectarian divisions of the Asian community which constitutes its greatest weakness.

There are six chapters (Chs. V to X) which deal with the activities of the Asian community since the last decade of the 19th century and the political and economic role played by it in the life of East Africa. Mr. Hollingsworth highlights certain interesting facts which may be summed up as follows: (1) Indian agriculturists were rather unwilling to emigrate; a majority of Indians who came to East Africa were much more interested in finding lucrative openings for trade than working as peasants on the land; (2) though not pioneers, Indians came increasingly to play a prominent part in the cotton ginning and marketing side of the industry; they, however, pioneered the Uganda sugar industry; (3) the Asian petty shopkeeper has carried his merchandise into the most remote areas and has been the chief agent in introducing the products of Europe and Asia to the Africans.

Thus, this work renders a valuable service to the Indian community in so ably and succinctly pointing out its economic contribution and in dispelling much prejudice and ignorance about it. Mr. Hollingsworth, however, could have been more outspoken in his assessment of the relative stand of the Indian and European communities in Kenya during the years following the end of the World War I. The Christian missionaries, the Europeans and the Kenya Government were at one in maintaining racial discrimination and a communal role; the slogan of "paramountcy of native interests" they raised was just an excuse to maintain white domination; Indians were fighting for a common role and racial equality.

Mr. Hollingsworth appeals for growth of a multi-racial, socially integrated community in East Africa and his view about the future role of Indians is that they have still "an important part to play in the economic future of these territories."

The book contains several striking illustrations and a comprehensive list of reference notes at the end of each chapter.

—AMBA PRASAD.

KENYA: The Tensions of Progress : By Susan Wood (Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press).

The wind of change has blown all over the world during the last two decades, but more recently Africa has monopolised the attention of the world. Susan Wood has tried to record the state of Kenya during these changing times. Tracing the history of the region during the last century and a half, she has tried to portray the present state, which is quite fluid.

Before the Europeans came to Africa, the natives had developed a highly complex social system. The material existence of the individual was simple. As Miss Wood tells us, there was no knowledge of writing nor of the wheel; there was no permanent building. In East Africa, both trade and flag from Europe followed the Bible. Miss Wood maintains, and rightly so, that it was to retain and consolidate their influence in Uganda that the railway line from the coast was begun by the settlers and the territory of Kenya came into prominence. The construction of railways demanded labour which was imported from India. "As the years went by, they multiplied greatly and became a rich community... Their prosperity attracted further immigrants from India." Thus, there were three racial groups in Kenya: the Africans, the Indians and the Europeans.

The social life of the people in Kenya is changing. Miss Wood has tried to gauge the gaps that exist today. For instance, the women are left behind and their men go out to work in the new towns and gain new experiences. The women, left to cultivate the family land, remain illiterate, speaking only their vernacular tongue. Their children go to school. Every year more educated homes are established. The gap between the

parents and the children in African life will be on the increase for at least another generation.

Another major trend in the life of the Africans in Kenya is the movement from the land to other forms of employment. In this field, Miss Wood believes that there are very few other avenues. Kenya is not rich in minerals and has little to expand but her agriculture. An economic revolution is, however, changing the purely tribal subsistence economy into a cash economy.

A political revolution is also in progress by which power will ultimately pass from the experienced and the wealthy few to the poor and the less experienced masses. Miss Wood warns us that the modern African, on the threshold of this change, will meet the settler, who until recently was immensely confident of the superiority of his own way of life, at per.

Miss Wood has underlined the fears of the European community; the whole way of life of these Europeans may be swamped by people of entirely different culture. In the economic sphere, the Europeans' chief fear is the opening up of their lands. The changes predicted by Miss Wood will, undoubtedly, create an atmosphere in which some of the Europeans living in Kenya today may not wish to stay. The Asians have their fears too. They hold the middle position, incurring unpopularity from both sides and suffering considerable insecurity as a result thereof. "Emotionally their sympathies are with the African people...Economically they are drawn to the Europeans." The Africans have more varied views. The class of educated people among them have moderate views, but they are not very effective. Then there are the clanish loyalties. But many Africans would like to get rid of the divisions caused by tribalism which stands in the way of nationalism.

Miss Wood has tried to analyse the texture of political groups. She has tried to bring out the basic points of view of various parties; she dwells at length on the Kenya National Party, a European challenge to Blundell's multi-racialism, and on the Kenya Independence Movement, headed by Tom Mboya. Jomo Kenyatta, she says, is still "for the African people, a symbol of great emotional force." Mboya, she believes, will undoubtedly use this emotion to draw African support to his party.

She has traced the developments that led to the Kenya Constitutional Conference which began on January 18, 1960, and has outlined the structure of the Legislature and the Executive. In conclusion, she has tried to analyse the influences of foreign powers: America and Russia. Here she agrees with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who holds that the Commonwealth has a touch of healing in it.

The volume is a successful attempt at a dispassionate analysis without the projection of any specific point of view.

A Short History of Education in British West Africa: By F. H. Hilliard, B. D. Ph. D. (Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London; Pp. 186.)

Mr. F. H. Hilliard has done a creditable job by writing the history of educational developments in British West Africa. He has taken great pains in collecting the data from various sources and in arranging it in a systematic manner so that the reader can have an easy grasp of the subject. Defects of the educational system prevailing in the first half of the 19th century have been brought out very vividly.

Mr. Hilliard, in this book, has traced the history of educational development in the four territories of British West Africa—Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast and Nigeria. Though not comprehensive, the study covers all the main features of education in these four states; separate chapters have been devoted to the study of each state. Although the names given to the main primary schools in all the four states were not identical, the types themselves are in fact very similar. The certificates awarded to the teachers for successfully completing the approved courses differ in name from territory to territory, but they are closely related to parallel types of training and qualifications.

In the 18th century, public opinion in England was turning gradually against the slave trade, with the awareness among many thoughtful persons that West Africa must be helped towards a more civilised way of living. This was a turn for the betterment of the African masses. There came to be established primary schools by the Government, missionaries, and at places even by traders. Major contribution in this field was made by missionary societies whose primary aim was to propagate Christianity.

No appreciable progress, however, was achieved in spreading education till the close of the 19th century even though various Committees and Advisory Boards were appointed from time to time for suggesting improvements in the system. The education imparted was stereotyped in character. The author observes: "A more serious defect of these early schools, however, to quote again from the Commissioner's own words, appears to have been that they produced too much of a mere teaching of words and a neglect of knowledge of things, and too little employment of the faculty of thinking, and of instructions in habits of industry."

The causes of this deplorable state of affairs were many: (1) Lack of trained teachers; (2) Financial stringency; (3) Too much influence of missionary societies and utter backwardness of the area. Due to suppression and subjugation for a long period, to act as a slave had become part and parcel of the life of these people. The system of education also had not originated from within but had been borrowed from England; the system was not very well suited to the time and the needs of the people. In the beginning of the 20th century, Africans started participating and taking interest in their own problems and running of educational institutions. This led to shifting of emphasis on to the provision of secondary and technical education.

When the full story comes to be written of the contribution which the United Kingdom, through its missionaries, educationists and officials, has made during the 19th and 20th centuries to the progress of education in West Africa, it may well be that the credit will go to Britishers who ventured first in this field. However, the real progress will be made when educational policies will be inspired and shaped by its own people. Africa is awakening fast and time is not far off when it will produce leaders in every field, including education, to shape the fate of their country.

Mr. Hilliard has done a great job by publishing this book which will act as a source of inspiration and light to the future research scholars in making a detailed study on the subject and to the planners as a guide for formulating their future policies.

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